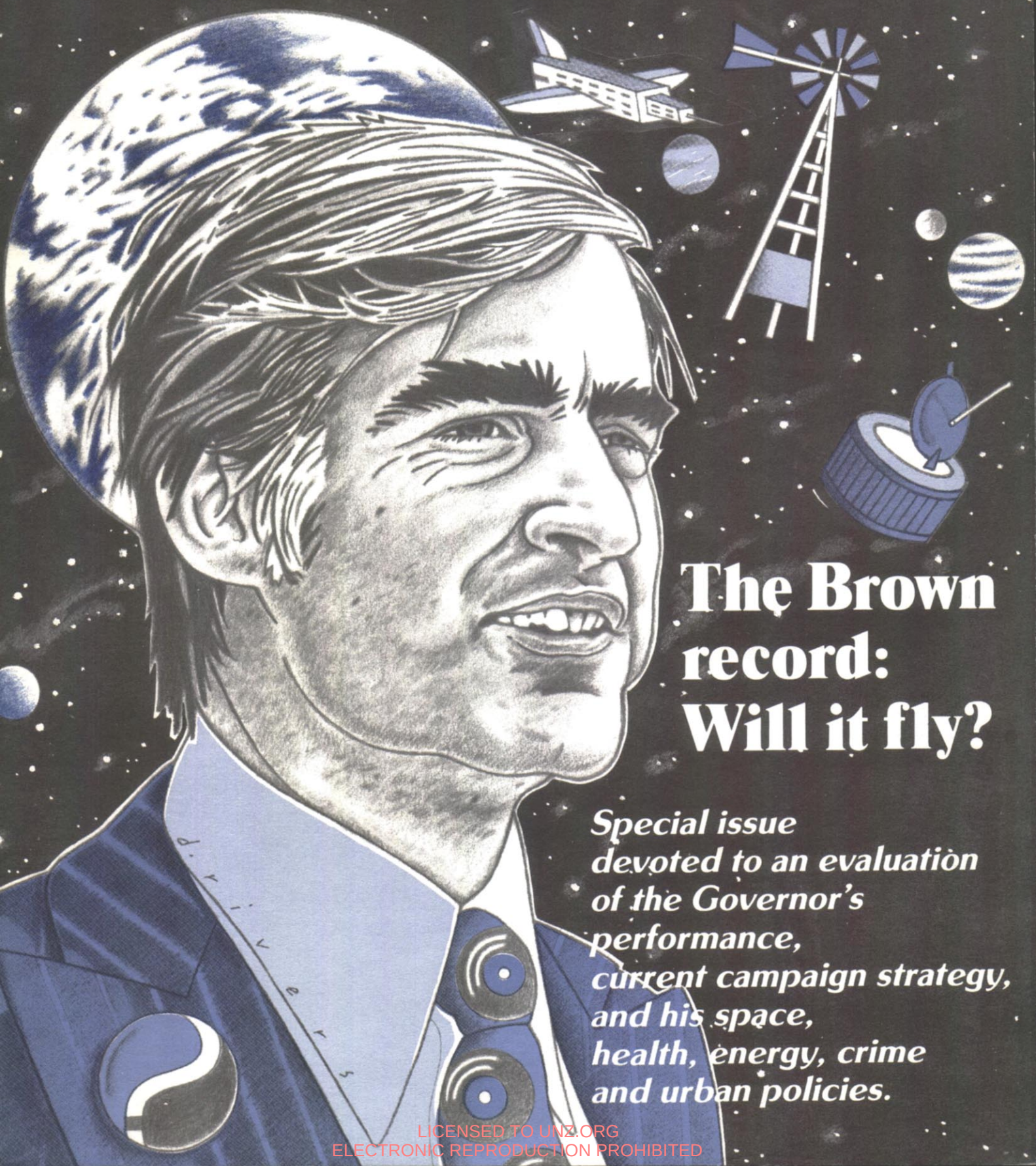
JUNE 1978/$1.75

California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS



The Brown record: Will it fly?

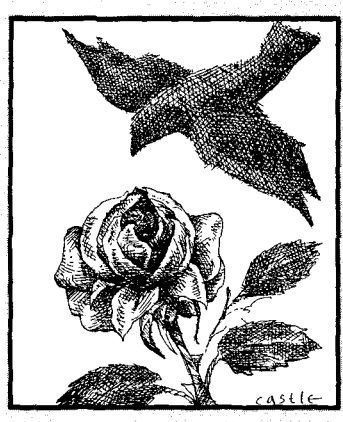
Special issue devoted to an evaluation of the Governor's performance, current campaign strategy, and his space, health, energy, crime and urban policies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personal

PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman



Aviary politics

One of the Republican war cries this year is, in the words of Assemblyman Mike Antonovich, "Give Bird the bird in November." Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego, Antonovich and others are trying to convince Californians that they should vote "no" on Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird, whose name will appear on the general-election ballot. The message has at least a dual purpose — to bounce the chief justice and to inflict political punishment on the man who appointed her, Governor Brown.

This is not the first time an effort has been made to campaign for a majority of "no" votes against Supreme Court justices. Several years ago, then-Assemblyman E. Richard Barnes and other conservative Republicans sought to remove several justices they thought were using their positions to promote liberal causes. Only the voters of Kern County listened to Barnes and company in large enough numbers to produce a majority of no votes.

That attempt was based on a difference of opinion on issues — decisions handed down by the justices that the conservatives felt went against the will of the people and the intent of the federal and state constitutions. In the current instance, the argument is that Bird did not have the right kind of qualifications for the job, specifically prior service on the bench.

One of the ironies of this claim is that the Republican Party has posted its greatest political successes in recent years with candidates with absolutely no experience in public office — George Murphy, Ronald Reagan, S.I. Hayakawa. This year, the GOP primary ballot contained the names of Ed Davis and Mike Curb running for the two top jobs in state government without having previously set foot in the elective arena. And there sits on the Supreme Court a conservative Republican whose credentials came under Democratic attack when he was appointed by Reagan — William P. Clark Jr. Despite a less-than-impressive legal background before being appointed to the bench, Clark has turned out to be an able and articulate spokesman for the conservative viewpoint and anything but an embarrassment to the GOP.

By the time November 7th rolls around, Bird will have served almost 20 months in office. She could be challenged on her record, but the real question is whether an attack on Bird is smart politics for the Republicans. The GOP could get lucky. Bird could issue a mighty unpopular decision just before the election. But that is hardly likely.

Republicans like Wilson and Antonovich may be underestimating how strongly women feel about the symbolic importance of the Bird appointment to one of the most prestigious posts in the state. Many women — regardless of political persuasion — get upset when they hear efforts to bar a woman from a coveted position because she supposedly doesn't have the right kind of experience. That's precisely the kind of story women have heard for years when they tried to compete evenly with men in the employment marketplace.

California Journal

THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS
OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Volume IX, Number 6 June 1978

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

ART DIRECTOR
Jan Castle

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Alice Nauman

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT:
Leo Rennert

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS:
Donna Rivers, Steve Greenberg.

CIRCULATION MANAGER:
Barbara Aguirre

STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Dorie Runyon, Caroline Landry

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-ideological analysis of California government and politics published monthly by the California Center for Research and Education in Government, a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation. Publication is assisted by grants from the Levi Strauss Foundation, Stella B. Gross Charitable Trust, and Wright Charitable Trust.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EUGENE C. LEE, Chairman, director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, Berkeley.
LOU CANNON, western bureau chief, *Washington Post*, Los Angeles.
JUDSON CLARK, California Research, Sacramento.
DORMAN L. COMMONS, president, Natomas Company, San Francisco.
HOUSTON I. FLOURNOY, dean, Center for Public Affairs, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
THOMAS R. HOEBER, publisher, *California Journal*, Sacramento.
HAROLD KEITH, Investments, Beverly Hills.
ROSELLEN KERSHAW, past president, California Division, American Association of University Women, Fresno.
MELVIN B. LANE, president, Lane Publishing Co., Menlo Park.
DONALD G. LIVINGSTON, secretary and director of public affairs, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles.
EDWIN MEESE III, attorney, La Mesa.
YOLANDA NAVA, news reporter, KTXL-TV Channel 40, Sacramento.
MARCEL B. POCHÉ, Superior Court Judge, Santa Clara County.
MADELEINE H. RUSSELL, former Democratic national committeewoman, San Francisco.
VAINO SPENCER, Superior Court Judge, Los Angeles.

COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein.

Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $50; Special Individual Rate, $18.

Copyright 1978 by California Center for Research and Education in Government, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone: (916) 444-2840. Second-class postage paid at Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senator George Deukmejian of Long Beach is one Republican elephant who never forgets. Two years ago, Deukmejian came within 8,500 votes of losing his seat to Democrat Renee Simon. This year, Simon was running for reelection to the Long Beach city council in a theoretically nonpartisan contest. Deukmejian sent out letters to all the Republicans in Simon's council district reminding them that she had opposed him in 1976. The Deukmejian letter, according to Simon, provided the margin that sent her down to defeat.

They're calling Senator Bill Campbell Hacienda Fats again. Campbell, the guru of the liquid protein diet, lost some 80 pounds last year. But since returning to solid food, he's returned to normal. Now, Campbell has four years to put his silhouette back in shape for his projected run for governor in 1981.

About 2,500 Sacramento homes received what appeared to be handwritten letters from Mike Abernathy, candidate for Sacramento County supervisor. Actually, the body of the letter was produced in bulk. But Mike himself wrote all 2,500 salutation lines. And his brother, who has a similar handwriting, addressed all the envelopes.

For Bob Schmidt, Sacramento correspondent for the *San Jose Mercury News* and the *Long Beach Independent Press Telegram*, there was a silver lining in the sinking of the Virgin Sturgeon restaurant in the Sacramento River last month. The restaurant was owned by some Capitol friends of Schmidt, and just the day before the demise of the hamburger barge, Schmidt was talking about buying a partnership in the venture.

Contra Costa County Republican leaders are up in arms over GOP Senator John Nejedly's support for Assemblyman Dan Boatwright, a Democrat. It won't hurt Nejedly a bit. His political success is based on his reputation as a maverick.

Incidental information: You don't have to file your state and federal income-tax returns by April 15th each year — if you have refunds coming. (You have an additional 60 days.) The state and federal governments are in no rush to give money back.

Table of CONTENTS

SPECIAL ISSUE:

Anatomy of an Administration

Four years ago, Jerry Brown was something of an unknown quantity. But today the Governor has a record to cite, problems to resolve — and a reelection campaign to test his political potential as a candidate for president. This month, the *California Journal* devotes its major articles to an election-year analysis of Governor Brown: his past performance, his campaign strategy and some of the issues he faces — urban growth, energy, health care, space development and crime.

Brown's record 173
By Ed Salzman

Rock-n-roll campaigning 177
By Michele Willens

Spaceman Brown 179
By Jeff Raimundo

Transforming 'urban strategy' 183
By Cynthia Roberts

Woodchips to windmills 187
By Hal Rubin

'Senator Frankenstein's' commission 189
By Ron Roach

Medi-Cal: potential disaster? 195
By Peggy Flynn

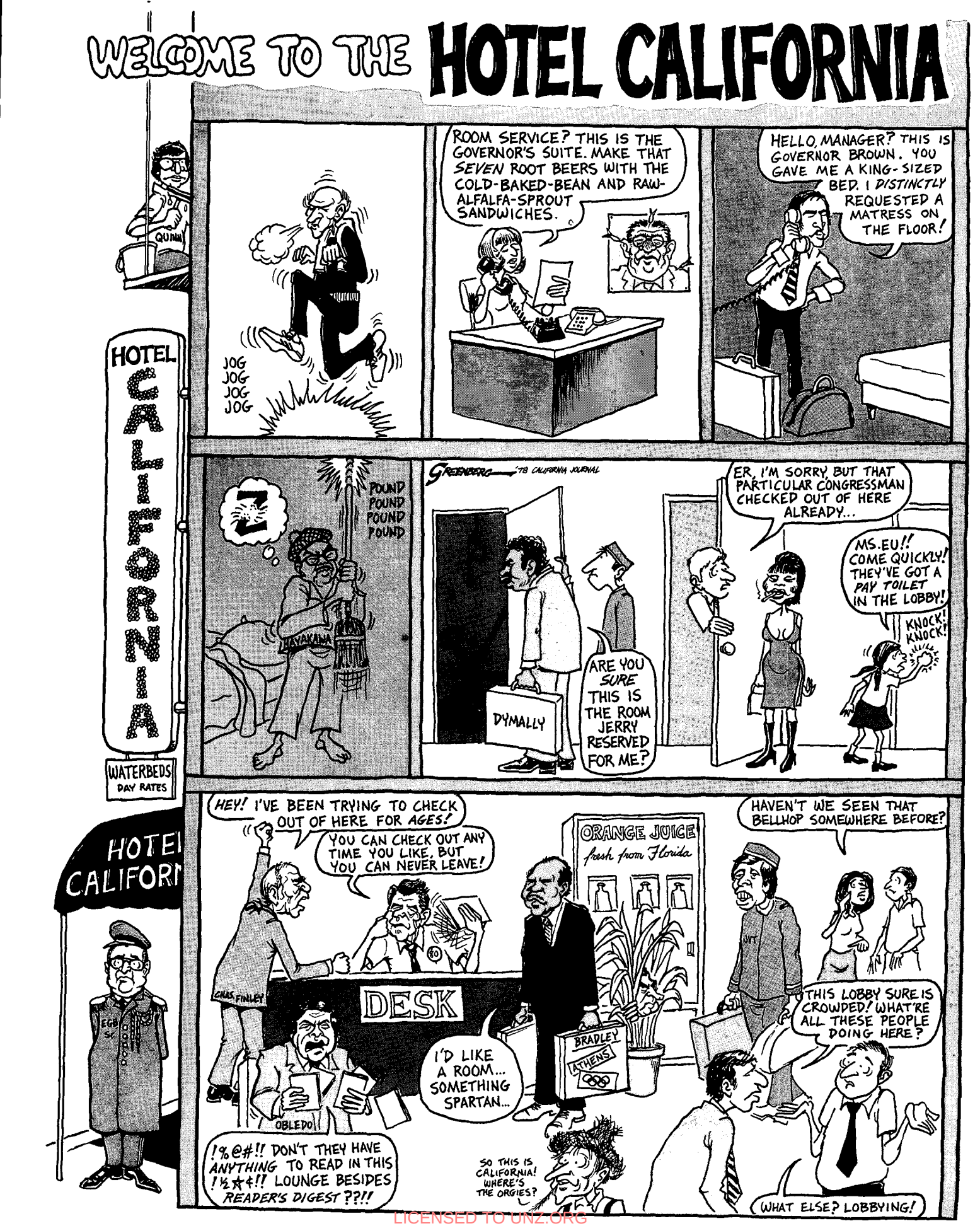
Heat on the Youth Authority 197
By Pat Washburn

Steve Greenberg 172
Capsules 192
Newsmakers 192
Roll call 200
Charting the issues 202
Leo Rennert 203

Cover by Donna Rivers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WELCOME TO THE HOTEL CALIFORNIA


QUIAM
HOTEL CALIFORNIA
WATERBEDS DAY RATES
JOG JOG JOG JOG
ROOM SERVICE? THIS IS THE GOVERNOR'S SUITE. MAKE THAT SEVEN ROOT BEERS WITH THE COLD-BAKED-BEAN AND RAW-ALFALFA-SPROUT SANDWICHES.
HELLO, MANAGER? THIS IS GOVERNOR BROWN. YOU GAVE ME A KING-SIZED BED. I DISTINCTLY REQUESTED A MATRESS ON THE FLOOR!
Z
POUND POUND POUND POUND
HAYAKAWA
GREENBERG '78 CALIFORNIA JOURNAL
DYMALLY
ARE YOU SURE THIS IS THE ROOM JERRY RESERVED FOR ME?
ER, I'M SORRY, BUT THAT PARTICULAR CONGRESSMAN CHECKED OUT OF HERE ALREADY...
MS. EU!! COME QUICKLY! THEY'VE GOT A PAY TOILET IN THE LOBBY!
KNOCK! KNOCK!
HOTEL CALIFORNIA
EGBERT SOUTHTON
HEY! I'VE BEEN TRYING TO CHECK OUT OF HERE FOR AGES!
YOU CAN CHECK OUT ANY TIME YOU LIKE, BUT YOU CAN NEVER LEAVE!
ORANGE JUICE fresh from Florida
DESK
CHAS. FINLEY
OBLEDO
I'D LIKE A ROOM... SOMETHING SPARTAN...
BRADLEY
ATHENS
!%@#!! DON'T THEY HAVE ANYTHING TO READ IN THIS !½★¢!! LOUNGE BESIDES READER'S DIGEST ???!
SO THIS IS CALIFORNIA! WHERE'S THE ORGIES?
HAVEN'T WE SEEN THAT BELLHOP SOMEWHERE BEFORE?
JJT
THIS LOBBY SURE IS CROWDED! WHAT'RE ALL THESE PEOPLE DOING HERE?
WHAT ELSE? LOBBYING!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jerry Brown has been governor now for three and a half years. He will have to run a significantly different campaign this year than in 1974, when he was the New Spirit son of Pat. Here is an outline of the strengths and weaknesses in the Governor's performance.

The Brown Record

By Ed Salzman

Four years ago, when Jerry Brown first ran for governor, most Californians knew this much about him:

- He was the son of Pat Brown, the likeable extrovert who led the Democrats to victory in 1958 and won a second term by defeating Richard Nixon in 1962.
- As secretary of state, the son of Pat had been a leader in the effort to reform California politics — even before Watergate.
- Jerry Brown had a big lead in the polls over all gubernatorial opponents and promised little more than that he would bring a New Spirit to Sacramento.

Brown has now been serving as governor for about three and a half years. He can no longer run on his father's good name, on his reformer zeal as holder of a relatively minor state office or as the vague New Spirit. Now he has a record on which he must run. Actually he has several records — as an administrator, as a promulgator of legislation, as a political leader and as the state's chief appointive authority.

How good or bad has the Brown performance been? If Brown had been forced to act in a truly dramatic incident — a Watts riot or a student uprising — it might be easier to give him a rating. His feet have not been put to the fiscal fires because the state income tax has produced an embarrassment of riches. His biggest test has probably been coping with the drought of 1976 and 1977. Brown avoided mandatory statewide water rationing, a step he feared would have significant adverse political consequences. And the heavy rains of 1978 prevented him from being left high and dry during the election season.

The campaign pitches

Over the next few months, Brown will be telling the voters how he has opened up the appointment process to those who had previously been excluded, how he has worked with the Legislature to produce numerous progressive bills, how he has guarded public funds, and how he has attacked the impersonal bureaucracy, trying to make it more responsive to human needs. The Republicans will charge that Brown has filled dozens of important posts with under-qualified individuals, that he has been a terrible administrator who made a bad situation worse in the health department, that he has a record of legislative failure in several important areas, and that his fiscal record is illusory because he has had such a mammoth surplus with which to work.

Many voters blame Brown for the failure of the 1977 Legislature to produce tax relief. That will hurt. Perhaps some erosion of support resulted from his stand against capital punishment. Yet, will Brown's record on the issues be the pivotal factor in the November election? Or is the real key the question of how the Governor is perceived as a person? It wasn't by accident that Brown's first radio blitz of 1978 emphasized his honesty and lifestyle rather than any of his legislative proposals. Brown knows well that personal popularity often is derived more from style than from substance.

The electorate's love affair with Brown was based on his refusal to live in the executive mansion, his abandonment of a limousine for the workingman's Plymouth, his order to halt state purchase of briefcases and all the other lifestyle characteristics that gave the public the notion that their Governor was a true anti-politician whose theme song was, "Give me the simple life." The polls now indicate that the customers have stopped flocking to Brown's lifestyle

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supermarket. The tax and death-penalty issues hurt some, but the Governor's efforts to win the presidency probably contributed most to the need for a new marketing campaign. Can the man who so obviously hungers for the next highest office be a real anti-politician?

This year, Brown will have to stand before the voters and defend what he has done and what he proposes to do. It is not important for a candidate to win the battle of words. In 1964 Pierre Salinger waxed George Murphy on TV debating points and came away a big loser because the viewers perceived him as the "heavy" and Murphy as a nice guy. Issues are primarily vehicles that allow voters to capture the essence of a candidate. The low-loyalty Democrats, who usually swing California elections, won't cast their votes for the candidate with the most appealing proposals but for the candidate who presents his programs in the most appealing manner. What really counts is how the voter answers questions like these: "Is he honest and sincere?" "Is he down-to-earth or an egomaniac like all the rest?" "Is he a wild spender?" "Is he tough enough?" Above all, "Is he a good man?" whatever that means.

No one seems to argue with the proposition that Jerry Brown is a shrewd politician. He knows that a political leader can survive public opposition if an unpopular decision is made in the right way. Pat Brown was hurt by the Caryl Chessman case, not because he executed the red-light bandit but because he acted indecisively. Jerry Brown probably wasn't damaged a great deal when he vetoed the death-penalty bill. He acted swiftly, let it be known that it was a matter of conscience and indicated that he would carry out the law if capital-punishment were reinstated.

It is not easy to evaluate a candidate's record in office in terms of ballot-box consequences. One of the common criticisms of Jerry Brown — and it doesn't come exclusively from Republicans — is that he hasn't done much over the past 40 months. The fact is that Brown can (and does) put forth a long list of accomplishments for himself and the Democratic-controlled Legislature. Whether Brown's actions are deemed good or bad depends on whether the individual's public-policy agenda coincides with the Governor's on specific issues.

The pulse-taker

As far as issues are concerned, Brown probably has a blurred image with most voters. No label fits him. It is almost impossible to generalize about Brown. He has often shifted rhetoric and positions. The Governor grapples with issues in a catch-as-catch-can style, although his political decisions are carefully choreographed. He relishes inconsistency. He keeps one hand on the pulse of the electorate at all times and moves with the heartbeat of the masses. The Southern California Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal organization that considers Brown too conservative, calls him "a combination of Don Juan and Machiavelli."

Despite the inconsistencies and the importance of image, Brown's record will provide grist for the campaign mill. Here is how it looks:

Finance. Brown inherited a healthy checkbook balance from Republican Ronald Reagan. By keeping a lid on expenditures, Brown was able to reap the rewards of rapidly growing state income-tax collections produced by inflation and the progressive nature of the levy. The state was able to enact a major school-aid bill last year in response to the *Serrano* decision and to propose a $1.4 billion property-tax relief measure this year without coming close to exhausting the surplus built up during Brown's first three and a half years in office. Most of the complaints against Brown have come from those who want the state to spend more money for a variety of programs. In fact, one year the Republicans

blocked Brown's budget for a while until they obtained an agreement from Brown to appropriate additional funds for education. Brown cannot be accused of being a wild spender, although he did propose to the Legislature this year that some of the surplus be used for such projects as a state satellite and for development of so-called alternate sources of energy.

Taxation. Brown has declared virtually every month that there would be no new general taxes during his term of office. He has had no trouble keeping his word because the state had such a massive surplus of funds. (State Treasurer Jesse Unruh at one point indicated that the reserves might total $5 billion.) But Brown has been hurt because the state did not respond soon enough to the public clamor for property-tax relief. During Brown's term of office, the value of homes rose at a record pace, causing rapid escalation in taxes on these houses. This produced 1.2 million signatures for the Jarvis-Gann initiative. In 1977, Brown tried to push a so-called circuit breaker concept of taxation, one in which the most property-tax relief would go to those with the lowest incomes. This effort was one major reason why the session ended with no relief in sight and why the Jarvis-Gann measure developed such great momentum. Only after Jarvis was on the ballot did Brown change his stance and eventually put his support behind a bill authored by a liberal Republican, Senator Peter H. Behr. Brown lost points with the public because Sacramento had not responded rapidly enough and, in the view of many, without sufficient relief. It so happens that the property tax, even for homeowners, has not been the major escalator in the California tax structure. The state income tax has been rising at a much faster rate than the property tax, but the income tax is collected by payroll deduction, and homeowners see their property tax bill at one time.

Appointments. Brown has appointed women and minorities to judgeships and other important positions in record numbers. His most important appointment — and possibly most controversial — was his former Agriculture and Services Secretary Rose Elizabeth Bird as chief justice of the state Supreme Court. Bird won confirmation on a 2-1 vote of the Commission on Judicial Appointments, amid Republican protests that she was not qualified because she had never served a day on the bench. Many of Brown's judicial appointees have been challenged at the ballot box. Law-enforcement officials have been in the forefront of the attack on these judgeship appointees, charging that they are too liberal.

Consumer Affairs. Prior to the Brown Administration, most of the members of state licensing boards and commissions consisted of representatives of the professions. As a result of Brown-sponsored legislation, a majority of public members was appointed to most boards. For the first time,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

non-lawyer members were appointed to the board of governors of the State Bar — but short of a majority. Within the businesses and professions there has been a great deal of resentment against the emphasis on public members, but Brown has generally been applauded by consumer groups for this change.

Economic conditions. This has been one area in which Brown has expended a great deal of effort — and has employed a great deal of rhetoric as well. About half-way through his four-year term, Brown found himself accused of being responsible for the creation of an adverse business climate in the state. Brown brought the problems on himself, in part, by talking about "an era of limits" and by embracing the "small-is-beautiful" philosophy — anti-developmental terms that send shivers up the backs of business executives. Unemployment was higher in California than the national average (as it usually is). The Fantus Company had produced a report showing that California was a bad place to locate a plant (a report based on pre-Brown statistics). And, most serious of all, Brown was blamed for the withdrawal of the Dow Chemical Company proposal to build a mammoth petrochemical complex spanning the Sacramento River near San Francisco Bay.

Although Brown wasn't really responsible for the demise of the Dow project, he felt that he had been damaged politically and decided to counterattack. He stopped talking about the "era of limits" and started using a new term — "era of possibilities." The Governor declared that jobs came before the environment. He appointed two representatives of the business community as his next two secretaries of Business and Transportation (Alan Rothenberg and Richard Silberman). He took a trip to Japan in search of an auto assembly plant. He launched a "California means business" campaign. Despite all these moves, Brown has still not won a great many friends among his business-community critics. But his pro-business campaign has helped restore his standing with organized labor.

Legislative relations. Considering that most legislators are not especially fond of Brown, the Governor has been able to get a great many of his proposals enacted. One reason is because he has often jumped aboard bandwagons constructed by Democrats in the Legislature, especially in the Assembly. In 1975, there was a large backlog of Democratic-sponsored legislation that had been blocked by Reagan. As a result, the floodgates opened when the threat of a Republican gubernatorial veto was removed. One reason many legislators are not fond of Brown is that he jumped over a generation of politicians — the Unruh generation — to take the state's top job. Others simply don't like him. Brown has been blessed with especially good support from the most important legislator of all, Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy. Nevertheless, there have been major disappointments for Brown, including the failure to get a water development measure through the Assembly.

Administrative ability. Brown has a reputation as a terrible administrator, partly because he doesn't conduct affairs of state in a tidy, corporate manner (as did Reagan) and partly because he has had so much difficulty getting the massive Department of Health to shape up. The state bureaucracy has a momentum of its own, and any governor faces a difficult challenge making it respond. A governor's administrative ability is generally as good as his top appointees. Brown has had some winners and some losers and he has been forced to make some mid-term changes. Of his first four agency secretaries only one now remains — Mario Obledo, the controversial health-and-welfare chief.

Environment. Early in his term, Brown could have been considered a liberal on environmental matters. His speeches were full of conservationist phrases deploring the waste of limited resources on Spaceship Earth. He sponsored a save-the-whale celebration. He formed an Office of Appropriate Technology to spread the practical application of the "small-is-beautiful" philosophy. His political lieutenant, Tom Quinn, cracked down hard as chairman of the Air Resources Board on those polluting the state's atmosphere. But the environmentalist fires were banked when the need arose to start the "California means business" campaign. Quinn suddenly was willing to negotiate for the location of an Alaskan oil terminal in Southern California; he had previously opposed it. Brown called for the construction of huge new projects to provide more water in the event of a future drought. He made significant alterations in the draft urban policy written by his Office of Planning and Research. But as the election neared, Brown needed to restore some of his credibility with environmentalists and liberals. He came out against the Sundesert nuclear plant and nuclear power in general. He pushed hard for the development of solar energy and alternative sources of power. He was sounding almost like era-of-limits Brown again. How does Brown stand on major environmental issues? The answer apparently depends on how the political winds are blowing.

Health and welfare. Ronald Reagan had reorganized the state's various health departments into a single massive operation, which Brown inherited. It was an unmanageable monstrosity, and it was obvious from the start that it would need to be chopped into smaller units. Brown tried various devices, including the appointment of a tough-talking corrections executive, Ray Procunier, as chief assistant director. The wonder is that it took three and a half years to get the department cut into smaller units. Even so, the largest of the health departments that will go into operation July 1st will still be a management problem because it is so large. Welfare has been a relatively quiet area since the system was reformed in the Reagan years.

Transportation. The policy of the Brown Administration has been to minimize the use of the private automobile and to develop mass transit. It has not been especially successful because the interests supporting continued expenditure of funds for freeways seem to have prevailed. The CalTrans effort to promote exclusive "diamond lanes" for car pools and buses was a failure. Adriana Gianturco, CalTrans director, has been in the center of the battle. She has held onto her job and sanity despite highway-lobby pressures and despite the lack of full support from the Governor. The organization of the transportation hierarchy was changed dramatically by the 1977 Legislature, and it remains to be seen how well the new system will work.

Crime. Brown has been accused of being soft on crime by those who support the death penalty, by those who feel that the determinate-sentence act results in shorter terms for felons, and by those who don't like his judicial appoint-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments. The other side of the coin is that Brown has abandoned some of his liberal friends in strengthening the determinate-sentence law. Also, the Assembly has passed several bills that had traditionally been blocked in the criminal justice committee because the measures became part of the Governor's anti-crime program.

Courts. The Governor has made quite a few enemies among lawyers and judges for his attacks on the judiciary and the legal profession. In fact, most of the criticism has come out of the mouth of Brown's legal affairs secretary, Anthony Kline. But the net result of the administration actions has been a push for court reforms, reduced salary increases for judges and the placement of public members on the State Bar board. Kline has virtually been at war with a majority of the attorney members of the Bar board.

Labor. Brown has had strained relations at times with elements of organized labor. The AFL-CIO was delighted with the legislative record in 1975 but was upset with Brown the following year. In recent months, Brown has come back into favor with most unions in the AFL-CIO family. Public employees have felt somewhat betrayed by Brown because he did not go to the mat for them in the legislative arena when the issue of collective bargaining arose. Also, state employees view him as a skinflint who will not give them the pay increases they think they deserve. One year, Brown pushed through a flat $70-a-month pay increase rather than the traditional percentage boost, in an effort to help those at the low end of the pay scale.

Education. Brown has generally been opposed to the sinking of more state dollars into the public education system without accompanying reforms. He worked with Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles in insisting that so-called "accountability factors" be included in the massive school finance bill enacted last year. (Previously, however, Brown had infuriated Riles by vetoing a bill supposedly introducing reforms into the high-school system.) Prior to the enactment of the 1977 bill designed to meet the *Serrano* requirements, Brown had been tight with dollars for education (and most everything else).

In higher education, Brown has made quite a few enemies in the University of California system because of his fiscal frugality with U.C. and because he has questioned some of the basic motives of University leadership. Professors have also attacked Brown for his talk about their "psychic" rather than monetary income. Some higher education officials had expected the state treasury doors to open when Brown replaced Reagan, but the Democrat turned out to be as tight as the Republican. In appointing members of the U.C. Regents, Brown broke tradition and stopped emphasizing high-income corporate leaders for these posts in favor of women, minorities and academicians.

Agriculture. In the first two years, Brown was practically public enemy number one to the farmers. The Governor's crowning achievement of 1975 was his negotiation of a farm-labor bill agreeable to all parties. But then he appointed the five members of the new Agricultural Labor Relations Board, and farmers yelled foul. Brown had stacked the board in favor of Cezar Chavez, they claimed. Growers also considered the state agriculture department biased in favor of consumers and unfriendly to farmers. In an effort to win some friends in the agricultural community, Brown revised the membership of the farm-labor board, started making missionary visits to farm communities, appointed a genuine farmer, Richard Rominger, as head of the agriculture department and even changed his position on the federal 160-acre water limitation. Farm leaders still remained opposed to him, and they financed their own gubernatorial candidate, Republican Assemblyman Ken Maddy.

Political leadership. Brown is not a strong party person. He is concerned primarily with his own political problems, although he has made numerous appearances for Democratic legislative candidates. His relations with Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally have been cool at best, although the two men seem to have reached an accommodation for the campaign season. Brown has forged an alliance with the organization of Speaker McCarthy, which includes the shrewd Waxman-Dymally operation in Los Angeles. He has also tried to build political support among minority groups and with women through use of his power of appointment. But should he depart, he will not leave a political organization behind.

Employee embarrassments. Every governor suffers some losses as a result of disputes with employees and outside attacks on high administration officials. In Brown's case, there have been three main problem personalities. He fired James D. Lorenz as director of employment, and Lorenz responded with a highly critical book, *Jerry Brown, Man on the White Horse*. The Governor fired Dr. Josette Mondanaro as head of the drug-abuse division of the Department of Health because she wrote an allegedly obscene letter on state stationery to a friend. The resultant furor hurt Brown, and the Personnel Board reinstated her. And Brown has defended his health and welfare secretary, Mario Obledo, against charges of incompetence and supposed ties with the Mexican Mafia. Obledo has become a symbol and unifying force to Chicanos in California, and Brown would suffer greatly if he were to fire the secretary.

This is far from an exhaustive recounting of the pluses, minuses and neutrals of Brown's first years as governor. But it should be evident that Brown's performance isn't black and white. He is liberal at one time and on one issue, conservative at another time on another — or even — the same — issue.

Whatever Brown's shortcomings as chief executive, he has few flaws as a political strategist. As the campaign unfolds, he will undoubtedly do far more than defend his record; he will attack his opponent and employ the element of surprise. Even die-hard Republicans will have to concede that Jerry Brown has developed the ultimate skill of a successful politician: He knows how to make himself interesting.

The booklet that may keep you out of jail

Almost every day, you can read in the newspapers about some officeholder, candidate, campaign treasurer or just plain contributor who has run afoul of the state and federal campaign-reform laws.

At least in California, there is a simple, low-cost way for those participating in the political process to know exactly what they must do to avoid legal entanglements, fines and possible imprisonment: Follow the *California Journal Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws*.

This handy booklet, written in lay language by an attorney who specializes in political-reform law, tells you exactly who must file which forms with whom and when.

Price: 100 or more copies, 40 cents each; 10-99 copies, 50 cents each; 2-9 copies, 75 cents each; single copy, $1.

• • •

Add 6-percent sales tax to all but single copy orders. Postage and handling are free only on prepaid, Visa and Master Charge orders.

Send orders to the *California Journal Press*, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What do Governor Brown, sultry singer Donna Summer and the pop group Kiss have in common? Answer: All three are being sold to the public by the same Los Angeles huckster.

The rock-and-roll campaign

By MICHELE WILLENS

A few months ago, Richard Trugman was helping to promote acts like disco singer Donna Summer and the rock group Kiss. Today, Trugman is keeping the same frenetic pace and talking the same smooth talk. Only now, instead of selling music, he's selling Jerry Brown by serving as finance chairman for the Governor's reelection bid.

"There isn't much difference between plugging Donna Summer or Jerry Brown," says Trugman. "You have a product to sell and you do it. The main difference is that in politics, there's a cutoff date when the campaign ends."

Trugman was plucked for his current job from a position as vice chairman of the board of Casablanca Records and Film Works. He may seem like a funny choice for finance chairman for the Governor. He doesn't know all the "right people" to call and sometimes gets their names wrong. (By late April, John Palevsky, one of the biggest contributors to Brown's 1974 campaign, had not even been called by leaders of the current campaign.)

But Trugman is young, aggressive and enthusiastic — producing just the image the Brown '78 campaign wants and needs. "There's a lifespan in political activism," says campaign manager Gray Davis. "I'll trade experience for enthusiasm and new people."

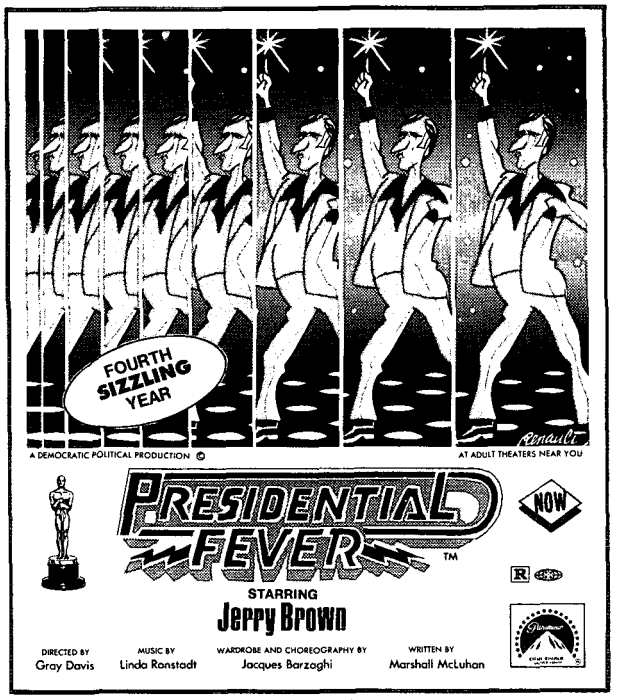
Aggressive enthusiasm is the theme of the current Brown campaign. A decision was made before the primary *not* to sit back and play cozy incumbent and *not* to allow the opponents to get the upper hand. Instead, Brown decided to get out front and tell voters what he's done. That strategy permitted Brown to garner much of the media's attention even before a no-contest primary. This is in stark contrast to the dull, low-profile Brown campaign of '74 in which the candidate said little, controlled the media and relied on name identification for votes.

No big chunks

The fund-raising techniques differ, too. In 1974 Brown's contributions came in big chunks, according to the man who had Trugman's job then, Leo Wyler. Unlike the young, bearded, dark-haired Trugman, Wyler is a silver-haired man of 56. A manufacturing company executive, Wyler is plugged into all the traditional Democratic circles. But Wyler couldn't do the money-raising job this time, because he doesn't like Jerry Brown anymore. Neither do many of the big-chunk contributors Wyler was able to tap four years ago.

"Almost all of them have vowed they won't support him again," says Wyler. "For me, it's based both on what he's done and not done as governor — plus the zero access we had to him after he was elected. He wouldn't take calls from any of us. Even his father once said to me, 'If you reach Jerry, tell him to call his mother.' He acts as your buddy when he's a candidate, then forgets you once he's in."

A review of large contributors from 1974 shows that many are not supporting Brown this time, either with money or votes. These people include business executive types like Larry Fields, Richard Weiss, Nathan Shapell, Herb Young, Fred Nicholas and others who prefer not to be mentioned. Their three main complaints about Brown seem to be his



Brown Campaign Raising Money With Disco Dancing -news item

Michele Willens, a former writer for the Los Angeles Times *and* KNXT *wrote "Promises, promises" in the April* Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unavailability, his business policies and the people around him. Mark Taper, a former big supporter and major Los Angeles cultural figure, recently told a friend, "I wouldn't vote for him for anything."

A current Brown supporter, banking man John Kreedman, sees it this way: "Jerry's simply not a stroker."

So Brown's rock-and-roll campaign is largely a product of necessity. Many of the old friends are gone and there is a real need for new energy and new sources of wealth. Trugman's capacity for handling money and making things "happen" have been proved in the music industry. While he may not know all the conventional strongholds of Democratic power yet, he knows many people who have never been actively involved in the political system before. "I know I was never asked for money before," he says, "and there are lots of others out there like me."

The tone of Brown's campaign was set at its first major fundraising affair. Held at music executive Neil Bogart's home, it was attended largely by music and entertainment types. About $80,000 was raised. Many celebrities turned up for a series of other events in May. Even the locations of Trugman-planned events are nontraditional: lots of coffee houses, for example. An Eagles concert for Brown's campaign is being planned, and there may be more.

Rubbing shoulders

What's in it for the music crowd? Trugman says entertainers are people like everyone else and they want to feel part of the political system. There's also the "power rubbing shoulders with power" attraction. The music industry is now a multi-billion dollar industry and it's the rock stars who are buying up the shores of Malibu. For them, it's new to be needed in high places. And it's fun to be close to a governor — especially one who may someday be president. Many in the industry, new to the political game, still believe Jerry Brown is an offbeat, anti-establishment nonpolitician. Other, more experienced observers consider the "new spirit" old stuff and say Brown's antipolitical image flew out of the window with the 1976 presidential campaign.

So what does he run on now? Just like many of his disco-donaters, Jerry Brown has a record. His campaign people now admit they wish they had played it a little louder.

"Our record is one of the best-kept secrets in California," says Gray Davis. He says the Brown Administration may not have done enough in the past three years to let people know what was happening in Sacramento and inside the Governor's office. But he also blames the media for tending to ignore state politics unless something big happens. For almost two years, the Governor allowed little media access to the actual workings of his administration. But the press corps generally agrees that he's come out and loosened up a great deal in the past year and a half. Brown now confronts that mixed-blessing question asked of all incumbents: Where do the official acts end and the campaign techniques begin?

"People will inevitably say we're politicizing the governorship," says Davis, "but his first service is to the state. It's always a balancing act." Davis denies that recent public meetings in Los Angeles and San Diego were candidate ploys. The idea was for the Governor and his cabinet to take questions from the outdoor crowds. There have been such open forums in the past but without the Governor himself. There will be many more outings for the governor/candidate before November, particularly during two periods in August and October when the Legislature is in recess.

Davis says the most critical decision of the campaign so far was one made before the primary when, though virtually unopposed, Brown launched a major media campaign. "The attitudes formed in May and June affect what happens in November," Davis says. "Impressions gained in a primary often hold. If you let your opponents control the airwaves, you'll have the whole state thinking their way."

The campaign expects to spend close to $1.5 million from now through November, most of that going into advertising, some direct mail and all the trimmings of a high-visibility campaign. As Assemblyman Willie Brown says, "Jerry Brown is vulnerable" and no one — especially after recent polls which show the Governor's popularity waning — can assume anything.

"The primary task of this campaign is communication," says Davis. "Because now we have something to tell people. We'll do it through the media, speakers' bureaus, phone banks, bumper strips. We're going to try to make everything we do interesting and untraditional."

Davis says two key messages will be repeated with all campaign tactics: Things are going well in California. And the Governor has broken new ground, keeping California ahead of the country in areas like pollution controls, farm-labor relations, a natural-death law and so on. "A whole range of enactments under him have served as models in other states," Davis says.

To help get those messages across, the campaign knows it needs more than entertainers and cash. It needs the help of another group the '74 campaign didn't get much support from: Democratic legislators. That means winning back many of the lawmakers Brown lost when he ran on a campaign-reform platform which implicity accused politicians of taking and spending money too easily. Brown met in late April with a group of legislators in a meeting described as "lukewarm" by Assemblyman Howard Berman. "He made a real plea," Berman says. "Basically, most legislators realize our fortunes and his are part and parcel."

One thing legislators have mixed feelings about is Jerry Brown's obvious interest in the presidency. Will they be putting out for someone who will simply coast while waiting for 1980? Gray Davis feels Brown's higher interests have not hurt the campaign in any way. In fact, he claims it's helped in the raising of money. Just as the music people like to think they may be rapping in the Oval Office one day, others like the idea, too. Davis explains it this way: "Many people who wouldn't ordinarily give money, because they think he's a shoo-in, are looking further down the road. The fact that he's already perceived as a national figure and a possible presidential figure, actually motivates people to help. We want to show people that the perceived rivalry between Brown and Carter benefits California. Our calls to the White House are answered quickly and we receive far more attention than most states.

Reversing roles

"We intend to take the campaign to our challenger," says Davis. "The challenger usually frames the issues of a campaign by attacking, and therefore he defines the political dialogue. Well, we're going to reverse the roles."

Brown backers assume the key points against the Governor will be his stand against nuclear energy, his appointments and his alleged anti-business policies. The latter charge is something campaign leaders are preparing for with all kinds of facts and figures on new businesses coming to California. Yet the business climate — good or bad — appears to be the target area that the Brown camp worries most about.

One thing that will run like a business is the Brown campaign itself, according to Trugman. He says he's using the same approaches he used in music promotion, and he's learning that the diplomacy necessary in politics isn't all that different from dealings in his own business world.

Trugman may not know what the CDC stands for, but he knows how to get a record played. Now that record happens to be Jerry Brown's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is the Governor's plan to spend $5.8 million for a communications satellite designed to save lives and property or to give Brown a new toy and a political gimmick for some future presidential campaign?

Spaceman Brown

By JEFF RAIMUNDO

What is Governor Brown's space satellite plan, anyway? Is it a seriously considered proposal to save lives and money through modern technology? Or is it a reelection gimmick for a spacey politician?

Some state lawmakers are saying that the answer to these questions, as much as any others, will figure in their final decision on whether to approve the $5.8 million Governor Jerry Brown has set aside for a communications satellite in his 1978-79 state budget.

Brown's representatives — including former astronaut Rusty Schweickart — say such a satellite will save thousands of lives in the Los Angeles or San Francisco regions in the event of a major earthquake. They claim it also will save taxpayers $3.3 million annually and will protect millions of dollars worth of timber and other natural resources. All that, they say, can be achieved for an initial outlay of $5 million for satellite development, $2.8 million for ground equipment and training, and $720,000 a year for maintenance of the system and satellite "tuning."

Skeptics, like Republican Assemblyman Robert Cline, say the administration wants "to provide the Governor with a toy". In a more serious vein, Legislative Analyst William Hamm argues the proposal is based on dubious background data and, in the long run, could be unnecessarily costly to taxpayers. Hamm's counsel led Democratic Assemblyman Richard Lehman to note that Brown had "decided the state needs a satellite, then told his staff to go out and find uses for it."

Such allegations anger Brown's point men. At an Assembly committee meeting in March, Schweickart responded icily to Cline: "When you look at the advances in technology that has made it possible to save thousands of lives and millions of dollars . . . I don't think we can responsibly ignore this technology."

In fact, Brown has spoken often through his first term of such things as "Spaceship Earth" and "planetary realities." But those are idiomatic among his Zen-intellectual advisers such as Stewart Brand, the environmentalist creator of the *Whole Earth Catalog* and editor of the *CoEvolution Quarterly*. It was only a year ago that Brown actually began to use space as a politically marketable commodity.

It started with private discussions — at the Zen Center and with others in his Sacramento office — about space colonies as a sort of environmental safety valve, perhaps helping to save mankind from self-destruction. But the first public hint about Brown's plans may have appeared with the official state telephone directory issued last spring. Its cover bears a satellite photo of Earth, reminiscent of Brand's catalog. In relatively short order, Brown became the nation's first governor to employ his own astronaut, sponsor a futuristic "Space Day" extravaganza for both a dazzled public and an elite coterie of scientific and governmental celebrities — and ultimately put money for the satellite in his budget.

Now, whenever the Governor appears in public — at press conferences, in Capitol corridors, at youth conventions — he goes out of his way to drop references to satellites and the "limitless frontiers" of space. At times he tosses them out as convenient election-year "buzz words." Sometimes he earnestly tries to sell his satellite proposal.

Jeff Raimundo is a state Capitol reporter for the Sacramento Bee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And there are other times when he jokes about his plan, obliquely conceding that the idea has generated widely divergent reactions — including a large dose of sarcastic derision.

"When I talk of space, I don't think of movies," Brown demurred during his State of the State address last January, anticipating that many would view his proposal as "just another Tinkertoy for the Governor," as one legislative staffer has suggested. But Brown is clearly serious about his proposal. He has told B.T. Collins, one of his staff lobbyists, to make it his top priority during legislative hearings this year on the new budget. And Brown has told Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy that the satellite is the single most important new program in his '78-'79 budget.

Working with Collins to sell the program are Tom Houston, deputy secretary of the State and Consumer Services Agency, and former Apollo 9 astronaut Schweickart, now Brown's science and technology adviser on loan for two years from the National Aeronautics and Space Agency (NASA).

Their effort got off to a poor start in January. They called together key legislative staff members for a demonstration of a conference telecast similar to the kind that could be used by the proposed satellite. "It was a disaster," chuckles a skeptical legislative aide. "One of them threw the switch to turn the system on and nothing happened. It didn't work."

No help from Hamm

Hamm's opposition hasn't helped Brown, either. "We are not saying it is a bad idea," he told lawmakers at the March hearing before the Assembly Governmental Organization Committee. "We are saying that we do not have ample documentation that it is a good idea. The administration must first identify the specific needs that cannot be met by the existing system or by other, less costly alternatives."

William Rogers, an analyst on Hamm's staff, adds that projected cost savings in fighting forest fires, for example, "could very well be overstated."

Houston and Schweickart say they are baffled by Hamm's attitude. In an effort to provide the documentation that Hamm says is not there, they have paraded a long line of state and private industry officials before the Governmental Organization Committee and the Assembly budget subcommittee. This subcommittee has recommended approval of the satellite to the full budget committee but the comparable Senate subcommittee voted against it, setting the stage for an end-of-June confrontation on the issue.

"Syncom IV is a bargain-basement, once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for the state to obtain the exclusive services of a communications satellite network," Houston insists. Because the craft would be launched by NASA from aboard an orbiting test flight of the space shuttle, the launch cost — more than $5 million — would be saved.

Actually, Schweickart is shepherding three separate satellite programs for the state. The Department of Water Resources and the Division of Forestry already are using a NASA satellite for some "environmental data collection," primarily monitoring the Sierra snowpack and the summer dryness of the forests. The data is transmitted from monitors on the ground, through the satellite and back to ground receiving stations for interpretation. "For a small investment" of only a few thousand dollars, what is now a free system for California may be expanded, Schweickart says.

The state recently signed an agreement with NASA for a second satellite program, this one using the Landsat orbiter, for evaluation of irrigated lands in the state. The first year, NASA will put up $100,000 while the State Department of Water Resources will contribute $75,000. Potentially, that resource-monitoring satellite could be used for measuring such things as growth of all sorts of vegetation, agricultural disease outbreaks and changing land-use patterns.

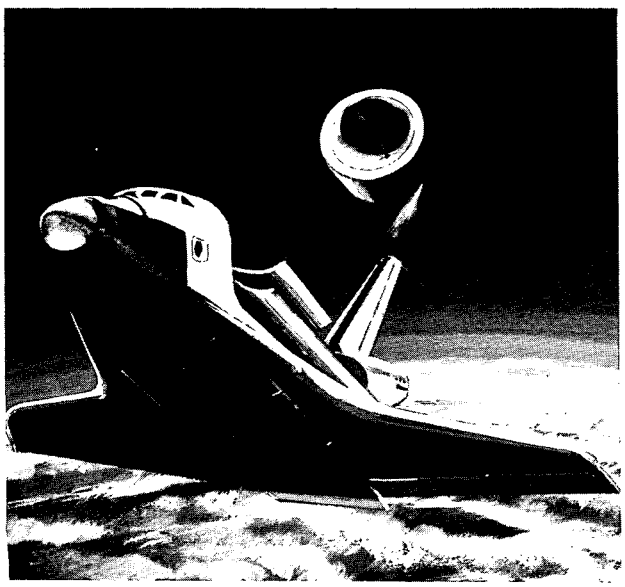
The key element

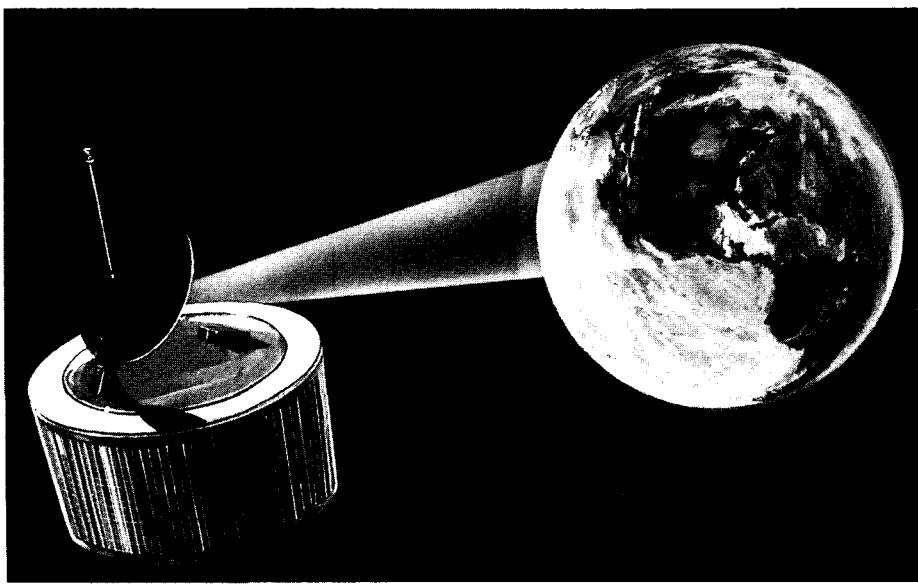
But the paramount element of Jerry Brown's program to use space technology is the $5.8 million Syncom IV communications satellite.

"California will realize benefits much greater than the investment we make," asserts Schweickart. "I'm very concerned about the consequences to this state of a major earthquake, for example. It's going to happen, there's just no question at all. And the key to minimizing the loss of life is getting the relief efforts to people who are injured or incapacitated.

"We're so used to the conveniences of communication. We can call on the telephone whenever we want and we can go just about anywhere. But a major earthquake or a flood usually takes out that communications network and cuts the roads. A satellite, however, is in no way affected by a disaster like that. The equipment we're talking about for communication via satellite could be carried on a jeep or somebody's back, if necessary. Is the equipment rugged enough? Can unskilled people be trained to point those antenna systems and use them? Will this be cost-effective? Those are

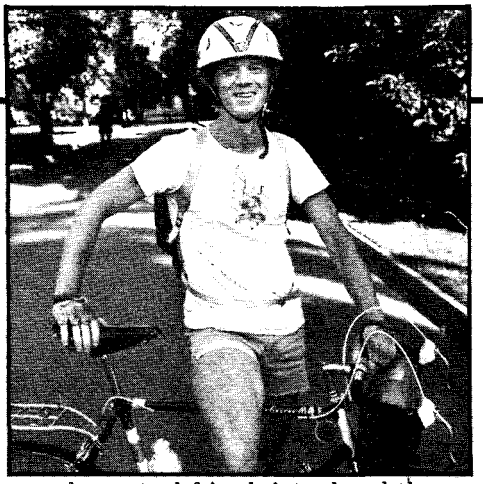
NASA artist's conception of Space Shuttle hurling Syncom IV into position and the satellite at work over California.





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHOTO BY EVAN NOSSOFF



California's $6 Million Man

In shorts and a sweatshirt, pedaling his 10-speed bike to the Capitol from his home in a well-to-do suburb of Sacramento, Russell "Rusty" Schweickart certainly doesn't look like an astronaut — or even a former astronaut. His reddish hair is bushy, his features are lean and his build in no way resembles Steve Austin's.

But Schweickart is Governor Jerry Brown's $5.5 Million Man, the Apollo 9 spacewalker whom Brown has chosen to sell his state satellite proposal to a skeptical Legislature and the public. On loan for two years from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Schweickart serves as Brown's science and technology adviser.

Their ties were established in the tranquil setting of San Francisco's Zen Center, at a conference on space voyages. It was here that Stewart Brand, originator of the *Whole Earth Catalog* and a mutual friend, introduced them and they hit it off immediately. They went to see "Star Wars" together. Last year Schweickart organized Brown's gala "Space Day" extravaganza in Los Angeles.

Schweickart in 1969 became the first astronaut to float tethered but without a life-support umbilical cord to his spacecraft. It was an experience that indirectly was to lead him into his interest in both transcendental and Zen Buddhist meditation.

After the orbital flight, Schweickart got involved in a drug-abuse program in Houston, something that he says was "part of the expression of the flight for me." He says he felt that he had to "repay society for the privilege and opportunity I had had. Somehow, I had to pull people together. In space I saw that we're all on this spaceship together and somehow we have to get along together."

Another person involved in the drug program introduced him to meditation, he says, as a way of helping to relate to drug users. Despite the fact that meditation seemed "sort of eastern and mystical and hocus pocus," his interest grew and he is now a committed devotee. Mystical references creep into his recollections of space. Mankind is, he says, "nothing but a scum on the surface of a monster rock called Earth, which is nothing but a grain of sand in the rest of the universe."

Yet, he adds, "When you're up there and look down at the earth, it's very obvious that there's an incredible amount of information you can acquire very rapidly. If you can just gather it, record it in a way that you can use and analyze — well, that's what we're trying to do." *J.R.*

things we want to show with this project."

Schweickart says there is "an analogous thing with trees." A major problem in fighting forest fires in remote areas, he says, is communcations between elements of a fire-fighting team. Now, before complete coordination can be established, a microwave unit often must be installed on top of one or more mountains in the region.

Houston has put together the cost projections on the proposal and he says valuable time can be saved by using portable equipment and a satellite, thus cutting potential timber and other resources losses and trimming the cost of personnel and equipment use.

The office of Emergency Services and the California National Guard have estimated that the number of deaths resulting from a great earthquake in Los Angeles or San Francisco — 7.5 on the Richter scale, for example — would be reduced by five percent. Houston says that would amount to between 1,100 and 2,100 lives in Los Angeles and 520 and 1,050 in the Bay Area. And even those figures are conservative, Houston argues.

"The Department of Forestry tells us that they might be able to put out a forest fire 20 percent faster," he adds. "That means a 20 percent reduction in such general fund costs as wages, equipment leases and equipment actually lost in a fire — somewhere around $1.1 million a year."

To go with that would be a 5 percent savings in acreage lost in the biggest fires — the "class G" blazes — that would preserve between $4.3 million and $5.6 million in timber, watershed and other resources spared as a result of the satellite communications.

"Thus, in just one year of average fire conditions in the state," Schweickart told the Assembly budget subcommittee, "virtually the total cost of this emergency communications system would be repaid to the taxpayers."

Proposed in the emergency reponse package, according to Houston, are eight mobile ground equipment stations — most on jeeps — with 12 voice channels each. They could be airlifted into a disaster or fire area within six hours, compared with the up-to-48 hours it takes in some cases now. Immune from weather and the effects of major disasters, he says, the satellite communications also will be available to all areas of the state not now served by microwave or telephone lines.

The teleconference potential

Obviously, fire, quake and flood relief cannot possibly occupy the full capacity of the state's "transponder" — or package of communications equipment — on the satellite, scheduled for launch in April 1980 aboard the final test flight of the space shuttle. Because the satellite would be flung into a "synchronous" stationary orbit 22,000 miles above the earth, it would be available for state use 24 hours a day. To make the project cost-effective, then, administration planners have proposed that the satellite be used for "teleconferencing" a wide variety of meetings and hearings around the state; for an experimental rural health program; for high-speed, low-power data transmission, and for a statewide educational television network, possibly involving the state's community colleges.

Mason Riegel, communications chief for the Department of General Services, told the Governmental Organization Committee that establishing one mobile unit and three special centers — in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Sacramento — for two-way, audio-video hookups would "drastically reduce" travel time and expense for both state employees and the general public. He added that studies by the Stanford Research Institute and Bell Telephone, and practical experience by the New York Metropolitan Regional Council have shown that teleconferencing is an acceptable and often preferred alternative to face-to-face meetings.

Current plans call for 54 hours per week to be set aside for teleconferences, with about 36 of them used for training activities. According to Riegel, that would account for about 20 percent of all training efforts in the state and would be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

geared only to those with sufficiently large and geographically diverse employee requirements. The total savings to the state, he says: $685,856 a year in state employee travel costs, not counting $326,137 saved by private citizens who would not have to attend board and commission meetings or regulatory hearings.

The teleconferences would involve one-way television transmission and two-way audio. And because the satellite would have a capacity for up to 600 audio channels the teleconferences would be pre-empted only by the most severe disasters requiring a large number of voice channels.

Because the satellite could cover the entire state, Houston says, it would be ideally suited for improved communications between understaffed rural health clinics and metropolitan area medical specialists who could assist in the diagnosis and treatment of severely ill patients.

Another proposal for use of the satellite is the transmission of oceanographic research data by the University of California. And a statewide linkup of community colleges for shared use of television lectures and other programs also can be created at a much lower cost than through existing communications systems, Houston says.

An existing $7 million state microwave system is used by a wide variety of state agencies, including the Highway Patrol, the Department of Water Resources and the Department of Transportation. But Schweickart contends the system is inflexible and virtually unusable in disaster situations in many parts of the state. Each new link in the system, he says, would require the installation of an expensive, fixed relay station, making it ill-suited for short-term uses and in situations in which major sending or receiving stations must be moved frequently.

Similarly, Brown's advisers argue that the several existing communications satellites already in orbit are not well-suited for California's use:

- They are much more expensive on a cost-per-hour basis than Syncom IV would be. For $3 million plus annual operating costs, California would get to use Syncom IV for at least its five-year guaranteed lifetime and probably for much longer. But leasing time on Western Union's Westar satellite, Houston says, would cost up to $12 million for the same number of years.
- They would not be available for pre-emption in emergency situations, while Syncom IV always would be.
- They operate at much lower power, thus requiring the purchase of more cumbersome and expensive ground equipment. Houston says each full-color ground video receiver for use with Syncom IV will cost $8,000, while an equivalent system for use with Westar would cost $40,000.
- They operate at broadcast frequencies that interfere with normal ground communications systems, including home television. As a result, using an existing satellite would require the added cost of installing a microwave relay system to carry signals from receivers in remote areas into the cities.

Two existing public service satellites orbited by NASA do operate at frequencies that don't interfere with ground communications, Schweickart adds, but they are scheduled to go out of service in 1979. Syncom IV is the only replacement now planned.

A boon to industry

Stung in the past by accusations that some of his policies have cost the state jobs and dollars, Brown is touting the satellite proposal as a boon to industry. "California is the center of gravity of the aerospace industry," says Schweickart. "More than 50 percent of NASA's contracts in 1976 came to California.

"So there's an extremely strong industrial base in this state, centered on aerospace and electronics. And that's a very healthy, clean economic base. It provides a lot of jobs."

That argument has lured the support of several labor organizations, including the United Auto Workers, and some business leaders. Brown hopes to add more as the budget debate proceeds.

With Germany, Japan and a few other industrialized nations rapidly taking over the lead in the mass production end of the manufacturing cycle, says Schweickart, California's strength must be built on technological development and experimentation. He notes that Japan is about to undertake the world's first experiment in beaming television programs from a satellite into individual homes and apartments. NASA will launch the satellite and provide other assistance. Schweickart says such examples show that unless California jumps in now, a large number of jobs and dollars will be lost forever.

However, Hamm says he questions whether the single satellite project contemplated by Brown will have any impact on the state's employment record or its economy. There just aren't very many jobs involved, and the impact of $5.8 million on a multi-billion industry will be negligible.

Houston responds that by helping to demonstrate the capabilities of both the space shuttle and the Syncom IV — both of which are being designed and built in California — the state would be promoting that industry, enticing other states and private companies into the satellite age.

But Hamm says that the purported boost to the aerospace economy of California "would be more symbolic than anything else." On top of that, the federal General Accounting Office has recommended that Vandenberg Air Force Base in Santa Barbara County be dropped as a shuttle launch site and operations be consolidated at Cape Canaveral for a billion-dollar savings.

The political problems

Legislative observers — with some notable exceptions — disagree over Brown's chances for successfully launching his satellite plan. While the Governor chose to embrace space and satellite technology as part of his general political philosophy, some observers say he might have been better off proposing the satellite as a simple, straightforward improvement in the state's communications program. Because the issue dots his political rhetoric so frequently, his political opponents now may find it difficult to support the program.

"I am afraid some legislators are going to get so far out (in opposition to it) that they're never going to be able to vote for it," laments one Brown aide. One caustic critic theorizes that the whole thing is part of an effort by NASA to justify the space shuttle: "That's why Schweickart is out here. It's all a big hustle."

But Brown remains adamant. The lives and money that could be saved with the satellite make it well worth the risk of an embarrassing rejection, his aides say. "It's a new idea," the Governor says, "and many people have a hard time dealing with it. They're the same ones who didn't believe we'd ever land a man on the moon."

Brown told an interviewer in January that his problems with the space program are part of "the dilemma of the western society . . . that the richer you are, the smugger you become. You rest on your laurels and those who are hungrier and more ambitious and more imaginative take your place. That's happening with technology in Japan.

"I am just saying this so that in the event the decline comes, I will at least have laid the record so that people will see it." Pausing a moment, he added: "Now, I have confidence this state is far from declining and we're going to invest in new ideas. I have no doubt that people on Earth are going to explore the universe. I want to see California play a role in that."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What began as a bold land-use plan for California somehow became converted to a catalogue of programs on its way through the Governor's office. This is the tale of the remarkable transformation in Brown's. . .

Urban Strategy

ILLUSTRATION BY SUSAN DOUGLAS

By CYNTHIA ROBERTS

To Governor Jerry Brown, planning is one of government's dirty words. Brown takes the view, which he has expressed with great relish on many occasions, that planning is something people do in government when they don't have anything worthwhile to do. The Governor has heaped ridicule on fellow politicians who issue white papers outlining umpteen-point programs on various public problems. So why has the state Office of Planning and Research been one of the fastest growing units of government in Sacramento? And why has Brown made such a big deal out of the urban-strategy document he issued in February — complete with a 45-point program?

The Governor admits it took a great deal of convincing on the part of Bill Press, director of the Office of Planning and Research (OPR), to get the urban strategy adopted by Brown as administration policy. In effect, Brown said he went along with Press because the OPR director was such a nice guy and had worked so long and hard on the project. There is undoubtedly an element of truth to the Press factor, but there were also sound political reasons why Brown came forth with the 36-page document officially entitled "An Urban Strategy for California." (For an outline of the strategy, see the accompanying box.)

First, the state is required to publish periodically an Environmental Goals and Policy Report. While this law had not been taken too seriously in the past, Press used it as a vehicle for starting work on a comprehensive development plan for the entire state — not just the urban areas. Once Press issued his initial draft in May of 1977, it could have been embarrassing for the Governor to walk away from it entirely. Second, Brown needs ammunition to use against those who accuse him of shoot-from-the-hip governing and of not having any overall policy for the state. Third, it helped Brown get some national publicity that could help him in a future run for the presidency.

Thus the urban policy must be evaluated from at least three points of view: What does it do for Brown's reelection campaign? How much help will it be in the presidential primaries of 1980 and 1984? How much will it do to improve the quality of life in California cities?

The urban strategy is not a vague or theoretical planner's dream. It is more like an inventory of legislation and policies

Cynthia Roberts wrote "A conducted tour of the Governor's office" in last month's Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that are already in the pipeline. Indeed, one criticism of the plan is that the Brown Administration is merely repackaging old proposals, some of which were contained in this year's state budget and some of which are the products of the Legislature. Nevertheless, it could prove a very useful document this fall when the Republicans attack Brown for grappling with government problems in a catch-as-catch-can manner and for not having any comprehensive programs to solve problems.

In a sense, the urban strategy has probably had a bigger impact on the national political scene than it has had in California. This is because the timing was exquisite — just when President Carter was about to release the federal urban policy and just before a national meeting of governors in Washington. Brown gave the national press something to write about. Furthermore, he was given credit, along with Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, for taking the lead in doing something dramatic to rehabilitate the nation's cities.

As a master plan for solving California's ills, the document falls short. It expounds a philosophy and produces a catalogue of proposals that may or may not be adopted by the Legislature and by the voters. It takes the incremental approach to planning and is hardly the first step in a statewide land-use plan envisioned a year ago by Press.

The draft issued by Press in May of 1977 was called "Urban Development Strategy for California." That might be viewed as the date of conception of Brown's urban baby. It went through some very subtle but significant changes during its nine months of development, before its birth in February. Although the bulk of the proposals remain the same, the tone was altered significantly. Much of the planning verbiage was removed, and it assumed the appearance of a political campaign piece. How those changes were made is the subject of considerable speculation in Sacramento.

One story circulated around the Capitol is that Tom Quinn, chairman of the state Air Resources Board and Brown's top campaign strategist, actually wrote the final version of the report. That is probably an exaggeration. Quinn undoubtedly had some influence on the report, and he did confer with Press and OPR Deputy Director Mike Fischer on how the final document should read. Reportedly, Quinn and Press disagreed on the tone of the report. Quinn wanted it to be consistent with Brown's oft-stated views on planning, while Press argued for a long-range planning element. The report represents a compromise.

The Reagan factor

Press' plan remains pretty much intact, but there are many passages that sound much more like Brown and Quinn than Press and Fischer. That's probably the way it should be; after all, it is Brown, not Press, who signed the report and must answer to the people for it. Following the session with Quinn, Fischer wrote a memo accompanying a revised version of the strategy. It stated: "Major changes from the May 1977 public-review draft are: the addition of actions dealing with some of the cities' social problems, the removal of much of the 'academic sounding' language, and some reorganization, changes responding to the suggestions made during the public review process, of course."

In a sense, the issuance of the report gives Brown a rebuttal argument to those liberal critics who claim he's a recycled Ronald Reagan. The explanation: In 1970, while Reagan was governor, the Legislature created the Office of Planning and Research (out of a planning unit in the Department of Finance) and made it responsible for developing a comprehensive land-use policy. This policy was supposed to be revised every four years and adopted by the governor as official state policy. The first of these reports was prepared in 1973 by the then-small Office of Planning and Re-

What the Urban Strategy contains

New urban development should be located according to the following priorities:

- *First:* Renew and maintain existing urban areas.
- *Second:* Develop vacant and under-utilized land within existing urban and suburban areas. Open space, historic buildings, recreational opportunities and neighborhood identities should be preserved.
- *Third:* When urban development is necessary outside of existing urban and suburban areas, use land that is immediately adjacent. Noncontiguous development would be appropriate when needed for the planning of open space, greenbelts, agricultural preservation or new-town development.

Forty-five specific actions will be taken as first steps toward meeting these priorities:

Housing and new urban development

1. **Housing rehabilitation and construction.** Allocate $300 million to increase the supply of low-and moderate-cost houses and apartments.
2. **Environmental reports.** Waive requirements for environmental impact reports for certain projects in built-up urban areas.
3. **Speculation.** Impose a substantial tax on the profits from some real estate held for a short time.
4. **Tax relief.** Continue to provide property tax relief as a way of reducing the cost of housing.
5. **Rehabilitation exemption.** Support a constitutional amendment (Proposition 10) forgiving increases in taxation for five years if they arise from housing rehabilitation.
6. **Housing vote.** Support a constitutional amendment eliminating the requirement that all publicly assisted housing projects be subject to a vote of the people.
7. **State lands.** Sell state lands in urban areas for development where feasible. If appropriate, sell the lands at cost rather than at market value.
8. **Tax forgiveness.** Sponsor a constitutional amendment giving business a five-year tax exemption for the rehabilitation of commercial and industrial property.
9. **Building code.** Prepare a model rehabilitation code with rules less stringent than those applying to new buildings.
10. **Incentives.** Allow cities and counties to require that some units in new developments be modest in size and design.
11. **Relocation.** Take all actions possible to insure that low-income Californians are not displaced from preservation areas for financial reasons.
12. **Task force.** Create a broad-based task force to develop means of meeting the future housing needs of the state.
13. **CalTrans housing.** CalTrans shall rent all units not scheduled for demolition within six months of acquisition.
14. **Local plans.** Require all local governments to prepare five-year improvement plans.
15. **Special districts.** Require that special districts providing urban services develop five-year improvement plans.
16. **Fair lending.** Continue the vigorous enforcement of anti-redlining policies.
17. **Energy efficiency.** Expand assistance to local government undertaking energy-efficiency programs.
18. **Capitol area.** Continue implementing plan for the government area in downtown Sacramento.
19. **Air and water quality.** Increase

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

search. The report said little, did little and was virtually ignored.

But things changed when Brown appointed Press as head of OPR. Press had been the executive director of the Planning and Conservation League. As such, he was vitally concerned about long-range planning in California and had participated in many activities designed to enhance business and the environment at the same time. Perhaps most important, he was not afraid to push for a bigger role for his office and for planning activities — despite Brown's rhetoric on the subject.

Press decided that the required Environmental Goals and Policy Report should take the form in 1978 of a vigorous land-use plan for the cities, to be followed by plans for agricultural and rural California. His draft report caused a storm of controversy. It seemed to create powerful regional governments, dramatically restrict development on the fringes of cities, push for tax initiatives that would help some communities and hurt others. But it was the tone that bothered the opponents the most. It looked as if the state was preparing to wield a mighty big stick and restrict decision-making at the local level.

Could a cautious politician like Jerry Brown be expected to embrace such a plan? Hardly. But he may have been placed in a position where he had little choice. The first draft was sent to the White House and the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development last fall, and it received good marks there. Some OPR staffers say privately that the plan was sent to Washington so that it would not be ignored by Brown.

Three unchanged goals

What is California's urban policy? The three primary goals remain unchanged from the first draft: 1) Renew and maintain existing urban areas, both cities and suburbs; 2) Develop vacant land within existing urban areas; 3) When urban development is needed outside these areas, land immediately adjacent to present communities should be used. These are merely goals, and the real issue is how the teeth will be produced and sharpened to implement the policy.

The tone of the Brown version (as opposed to the Press draft) is conciliatory in nature. There is something for everyone — except perhaps the speculator on land at a distance from current development. Take the introduction, which sounds as if it flowed from the pen of the Governor himself: "The Urban Strategy is based on one overriding principle: Government alone cannot solve our urban prob-

efforts to reduce pollution from current sources, allowing for industrial expansion in existing urban areas.

20. **Agricultural lands.** Protect California's most productive farmlands.

21. **State funding.** Base funding of public projects on regional population projections.

22. **Transportation funds.** First priority shall go to serving existing areas. Preference, where appropriate, shall be given to public transportation facilities in second-priority areas of new development.

23. **Taxis.** Review policies discouraging jitney and taxi service.

24. **Water allocation.** Give preference to existing urban and suburban areas in the allocation of water.

25. **Drinking water.** Distribute drinking-water bond funds to those agencies implementing the state's urban policy.

26. **Clean water.** Insure that clean-water-fund grants be made only to those new areas developed consistent with the priorities of this plan.

27. **State and local.** Place state buildings in those places where they will contribute most to local communities.

28. **General plans.** Sponsor legislation establishing local general-plan priorities consistent with this strategy.

29. **Local agency formation.** Establish as policy for Local Agency Formation Commissions that new urban development and boundary changes be consistent with this strategy.

30. **Urban services.** Establish an annual local process for identifying areas to get urban services within the near future.

31. **Industrial siting.** Establish a pilot industrial siting procedure for the San Francisco Bay Area to promote business development.

32. **Federal grants.** Priority in the approval of federal grants shall be given to those activities promoting the goals of this plan.

33. **Retirement funds.** Invest assets of retirement systems in mortgages that would promote the goals of this strategy.

34. **Forestry.** Create the California Urban Forestry Program to promote proper tree planting in cities.

Urban Social and Economic Conditions

35. **Apprenticeship.** Expand apprenticeship programs.

36. **Economic development.** Help businesses seeking to locate in California or expand in the state.

37. **Mental health.** Develop a model mental-health delivery system. Provide additional funds that will create thousands of new jobs in the mental-health field.

38. **School reform.** Continue efforts to upgrade the quality of education.

39. **Crime prevention.** Work with cities to develop more community-based crime-prevention programs based on the Santa Ana model.

40. **"Career criminals."** Help district attorneys prosecute criminals who commit repeated felonies.

41. **Urban parks.** Allow local government to use more urban-park allocations for normal expenses.

42. **Art and culture.** Encourage art and cultural events in urban areas.

Resolving interjurisdictional conflicts

43. **Direct councils of governments** (COGs) in the Los Angeles, San Diego, Sacramento and San Francisco Bay areas to determine region-wide needs in a variety of areas; direct local governments to conform to these regional needs; require each COG to report the extent of conformity with these regional goals to the state each year.

44. **COG funding.** Appropriate funds to support activities in number 43.

45. **Coordination.** Require coordination of activities of various regional special-purpose agencies through the COG in each metropolitan area.

Of these 45 elements, three require enactment of constitutional amendments, 17 need legislation, 8 can be implemented if funds are included in the budget, and 17 can be put into effect through actions of the Brown Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lems. The future pace of the state's economy and its physical environment depend on cooperation between public agencies and private enterprise. Government should advise, encourage, and lay down minimum rules. Government programs which needlessly restrict necessary development should be modified. At the same time, local and state agencies must continue their vigorous efforts to protect and improve California's natural environment. A strong partnership between government at all levels and the private sector is necessary to guarantee the future health of the state's economy and environment."

Perhaps the most significant element in the strategy is a $300 million appropriation for the development of housing units for low- and middle-income families. This proposal is actually a legislative initiative sponsored by Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy. It was embraced by Brown in the budget presented in January, and there was no indication then that it would become a central feature of the urban strategy.

The 'people' policies

As originally envisioned by Press, the report was supposed to be keyed to land use. But the law under which the environmental goals report is supposed to be issued mentions "natural resources, human resources and transportation." It might be said that the 1978 urban strategy stretches the definition of "human resources" to the maximum. While Press once spoke about decisions regarding the stewardship of land, the battlecry from OPR nine months later was "It's not cities, it's people." The land-use policy now talks a great deal about jobs, education and crime.

Press explains that the changes resulted from what OPR heard in workshops on the draft held throughout the state. People repeatedly asked about schools, crime and jobs, he says. At one point, the revised report contained the Governor's proposed expenditure of $2 million to halt the use of the drug Angel Dust. Why was it removed? Says Press: "I thought it was stretching it a bit." But the final version does contain in the introduction a long string of 1977 accomplishments by Brown and the Democratic Legislature — showing that Brown has always been at work trying to solve urban problems and providing something to talk about in the present campaign.

In addition to adding the social factor, the Governor managed to tone down some of the more controversial aspects of the Press draft. For example, the old plan would have given much greater power to so-called Councils of Government like the Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) and the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG). There were protests that Brown was proposing a new layer of government — regional government — with dictatorial power over cities and counties. The final draft scaled down the council proposal and made it cover only Sacramento, San Diego, Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Press also set out to require each regional council to establish an industrial-siting process. In the final plan, the project will be limited to a small experiment in the Bay Area. In the May 1977 draft, there were proposals for property and sales tax sharing. In the Brown report, these two have been combined and given low-priority placement in the document. They weren't even included in the 45 numbered items.

Less 'planning'

The Brown urban strategy has much of the "planning" removed. It is a "hard" document, based on specific bills and programs that can rise or fall, rather than a general scheme for planners to implement. OPR is no longer pursuing its plan to develop rural and agricultural plans. Press says he will concentrate instead on winning approval for the many elements of the urban strategy that need the votes of lawmakers or the people if they are to become more than mere proposals. And the Governor would hardly welcome another planning document.

(In April Press took a leave of absence to assist Gray Davis in Brown's primary campaign. Fischer also left OPR in April to join the staff of the Coastal Commission.)

The day Bill Press presented his original draft, he called it "a blueprint to save California cities." Eyeing the regional-government and tax-sharing elements, conservative Senator John Briggs called it "a blueprint to socialism." Looking at the final report, it is hardly dynamic enough to save any cities. Nor would it advance the cause of socialism. It collects ideas, bills, programs, proposed constitutional amendments, policies and studies into a bundle large enough to be considered a plan or strategy.

The report cannot be implemented as a whole. Most of the important elements will succeed or fail on their individual merits — just like all other bills before the Legislature. But while the document may be more of a collection than a plan, at least it is a major administration position paper on a variety of issues — something that has rarely been provided by the Brown Administration. If nothing else, it says loud and clear that the state wants to do what it can to prevent further "slurb" development and to improve the quality of life in California cities.

Coming soon from the California Journal Press

California Public Administration

By T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman

This new book, scheduled to be published this month, will describe the inner workings of state government — how decisions are made in all branches of state government, with special emphasis on administrative agencies. Sections will be included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The administrative agencies will be covered from three angles — those which provide direct public services, those which establish or implement public policy, and those which are essentially internal organs of government.

Although this paperback, large-format book is designed primarily for classroom use by students of public administration, it will also be a useful tool for anyone seeking to understand how state government works.

The price: $5.25, including tax. Copies may be ordered now from the *California Journal Press*, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814. Postage and handling are free on prepaid, Visa and Master Charge orders only.

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How feasible are the Brown Administration plans to develop so-called alternate sources of energy, employing the sun, wind and even waste products?

Woodchips and Windmills

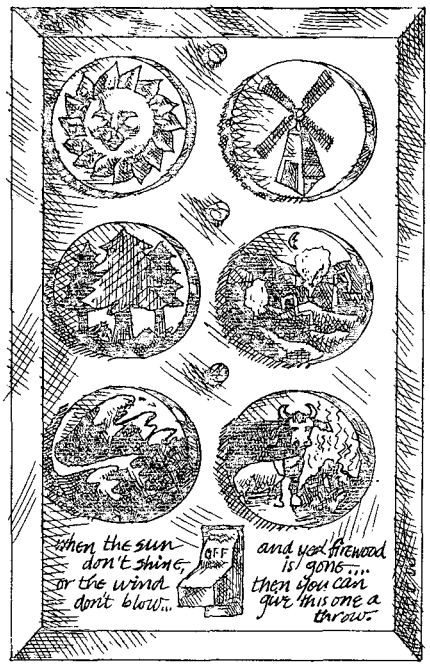
By ***Hal Rubin***

Science fiction of the 1930s has become the stuff of political debate in the 1970s. Legislators are arguing the feasibility of giant windmills on land and sea, satellites in orbit trapping sunlight, and live steam from beneath the earth's surface running turbines.

More prosaically, scientists in California are also creating usable energy from biological waste products like wood chips, corn cobs, rice straw, seaweed, manure and even garbage. Waste heat from industrial processes is already being used to generate electricity (co-generation).

California has become an acknowledged leader in renewable energy investigations, and the Office of Appropriate Technology (OAT) receives a thousand letters a month seeking information. "California is the only place where intelligent experimentation is taking place," says Robert Judd, executive director of OAT. Sim Van der Ryn, the state architect who formerly headed OAT and is still a member of its steering committee, says the Brown Administration recognizes the reality of diminishing supplies of conventional fossil fuels and constantly escalating prices. The price of natural gas has gone from 5.6 cents to 23.2 cents per 1,000 cubic feet in four years. A barrel of petroleum has gone from $12 to $20.

"We need to take steps now to make the transition to renewable energy — not to do so is reckless," Van der Ryn says. Even with a maximum effort to bring substitute technologies into



place, he doesn't think the state will get through the next 15 or 20 years very smoothly.

The Brown Administration philosophy reflects its disenchantment with the nuclear approach, an unwillingness to accept the level of air pollution that would come with excessive dependence on coal-burning electric-generating plants, and a realization that high quality hydroelectric sites have been virtually exhausted.

California is uniquely situated to take advantage of important sources of "soft" energy. About 270 days of sunshine each year guarantee an adequate solar supply. Westerly winds off the ocean to power windmills are as reliable as the sun. There is almost unlimited access to agricultural and forest waste products for bio-mass conversion. And the same geology that causes seismic hazards is responsible for providing extraordinary geothermal potential.

Robert Foster, deputy executive director of the state Energy Commission, puts the alternatives into three categories: (1) available now and already in use; (2) demonstrated as technically feasible but requiring further research and development; and (3) potential future technology that can probably be accomplished but is currently too expensive. Category 1 includes solar, co-generation, bio-mass conversion, and geothermal. In Category 2 are wind generation and district heating with geothermal. Category 3 includes fuel cells (photovoltaics).

Solar energy appears to be the most promising of the renewable types. If all the energy in the sunlight that reaches California in one day could be harnessed, it could satisfy the world's need for power for a week. About two-thirds of the state's water heating could be done by the sun, and solar units could reduce consumption of gas and oil for space heating by 20 percent. Solar energy is nonpolluting, safe, free of control by the Arab nations, immune to terrorist seizure, inexhaustible, delivered every morning — and cannot be metered.

The solar industry is growing rapidly, but is nowhere near capacity. Nationwide, an AFL-CIO study indicates that the solar energy industry will reach $10 billion by 1985, which would provide a lot of jobs. About 30,000 American homes already use solar hot water heaters. Van der Ryn

---

Hal Rubin is a professor of journalism at Sacramento State University and a frequent contributor to the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reports California has $100 million in energy-efficient and solar projects on drawing boards now, and other projects are being approved by the Legislature.

As an advocate of solar energy, Van der Ryn cautions, "We just can't preach to the converted. We can't assume that all this is going to happen through some magical ecotopian process — instant small business and happy solar-happy people with happy solar collectors."

A major obstacle to rapid acceptance of solar is the initial cost of equipment. Solar is cheaper than gas over the lifespan of the equipment, but the initial cost is high. Urging a state subsidy of that cost is activist Tom Hayden, who is in the forefront of the Solar Cal movement, a crash program to encourage installation of solar hot-water and room-heating systems in California homes and other buildings. Hayden and the California Public Policy Center in Los Angeles believe that solar power can make the difference between economic prosperity and economic stagnation in California during the 1980s. They point out that the solar industry will provide more jobs than nuclear development. Increased reliance on foreign gas, on the other hand, will drain away economic strength.

Prunes and raisins

One example of the solar potential is the $814,000 agricultural solar demonstration project in Fresno, which is the nation's largest. It will provide sun power to dry prunes and raisins. Natural gas has been used previously to dry the state's vegetable and fruit crops, a $675 million industry.

A sizable source for co-generation exists in California, according to the Energy Commission's Foster. He points to Germany as a nation that never had America's advantage of cheap energy. Currently it gets 35 percent of its power from co-generation. Foster sees the possibility of getting 2,000 megawatts on line by the mid-1980s, equivalent to the output of two large nuclear or coal-fired power plants. He said co-generation has an outside potential of 6,000 to 10,000 megawatts. California's current approximate installed capability is 32,000 megawatts.

Like the other alternative approaches, co-generation poses the problem of dispersed rather than centralized energy sources. In addition, utility companies want a firm supply if the electrical output of the factory is to be put into the utility grid. But obviously the output from co-generation fluctuates with the level of industrial production.

The PUC order

The State Public Utilities Commission has ordered Pacific Gas and Electric, Southern California Edison and San Diego Gas and Electric companies to provide incentives so that certain large industries could profitably produce and in some instances sell their own electricity. Advocates say that the technique of co-generation could make most chemical, oil refining and pulp-manufacturing companies self-sufficient in electricity, and some of them could produce surplus power.

Alternative-energy boosters point to other present and potential sources with equal enthusiasm:

Geothermal – California currently leads the world in production of electrical power from geothermal energy. Fields in the northern part of the state provide 72 percent of the nation's electrical generating potential from high-temperature hydrothermal resources. At The Geysers, Pacific Gas and Electric produces 502 megawatts. By 1985 California is expected to produce from 3,000 to 4,000 megawatts of geothermal energy. That estimate assumes rapid development of hot-water resources in the Imperial Valley, which is expected to contribute 1,200 megawatts by 1985.

Richard Maullin, chairman of the state Energy Commission, reports that geothermal energy could supply 20,000 megawatts, or about 20 percent of the total needed output by the turn of the century. That level of geothermal activity would require 200 100-megawatt power plants, about 1,200 exploratory wells, and 8,000 development wells — a $10 billion investment. Recently the state Energy Commission was urged to increase funding for geothermal support. In 1978 nuclear got $1.5 billion for research and development while geothermal received only $113 million. But in 1975, geothermal equaled 40 percent of nuclear production (502 megawatts versus 1,379 megawatts).

- ***Wind power*** – For centuries windmills have been used to grind grain and pump water. Electricity was generated by a windmill in Denmark in 1910. Governor Brown's energy adviser, Wilson Clark, says the administration will spend from $10 to $15 million to harness the wind — a clean, inexpensive form of energy. The Department of Water Resources is studying the generation of electricity with wind power at state water project pumping facilities.

Clark says windmills are economically viable and cheaper at good sites than coal-burning plants. One of the models being studied has wooden blades and is 100 feet tall. The Governor's energy adviser said there may be 2,000 to 3,000 windmills in use in high-wind areas throughout the state by 1995. Even larger windmills that can generate up to 3,000 kilowatts may come later. Research is being done by the Boeing Engineering and Construction Corporation and other companies.

The nuclear difference

Governor Brown is developing an energy program in California that differs markedly from President Carter's strategy on national energy. In particular, Brown has not accepted Carter's advocacy of nuclear power. Over a five-year period, starting this year,

Terminology of the new technology

Bio-mass Conversion — Biological waste products (wood chips, corn cobs, olive pits, rice straw or garbage) are converted to fuel. Material can be burned directly to produce steam or it can be gasified and the gas is then burned.

Gasifier — A machine that converts organic wastes into gas that can be used to produce heat or electricity. This process disposes of unwanted wastes and also produces energy.

Geothermal — Uses live steam piped from beneath the surface of the earth to run turbines that produce electricity.

Solar — Uses the sun's power to provide energy for heating homes and buildings, drying fruit, providing hot water, etc.

Co-generation — Uses waste heat from an industrial process for generating electricity.

Solar Cell (Photovoltaics) — Uses the sun and converts sunshine directly into electricity.

Hard Energy — Uses conventional fossil fuels and has a centralized technology.

Soft Energy — Uses the sun or other renewable resources to produce electricity and has a decentralized technology.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brown expects to spend about $500 million for new approaches to energy. From $200 to $250 million will be devoted to energy development, $200 million to energy conservation and $70 million to reforestation. As Resources Secretary Huey Johnson likes to point out, wood was an important energy source until recently, and trees are a renewable and extremely efficient form of solar energy.

Brown's $500 million alternative-energy budget includes capital outlay funds for numerous state agencies and projects. Included are such programs as solar heating and insulation of state buildings; a gasifier for the central heating plant that will burn wood chips and other organic wastes rather than fuel oil; solar power for remote radio transmitter sites; solar water heaters for state buildings; solar applications for crop-drying and dairying; and evaluation of solar and wind energy sources for use by the State Water Project. Many of the programs also receive federal funding, and they are coordinated with the U.S. Department of Energy and the National Center for Appropriate Technology.

Two agencies, Maullin's Energy Commission and Judd's Office of Appropriate Technology, are mainly responsible for advancing the state of the art and for providing technical assistance to other state and county agencies, the public and private industry. OAT, for example, is involved in such diverse activities as running a solar technical-training curriculum for installation and maintenance personnel and providing grants to inventors and small businesses involved in solar energy. It has a design group of engineers, architects and specialists in wind and solar applications.

A boost for 'soft' energy

In April the U.S. Department of Energy reported that by 2025 it will be technically feasible for California to obtain about 86 percent of its energy needs from renewable energy sources such as solar and wind power. The major exception would be for liquid fuels to power automobiles. Maullin said the report should help change the notion that "soft" energy is not a feasible approach for California. The report, which also stresses the need for energy conservation, presumes that California would double its population by 2025, triple its economic activity and face quadrupled energy prices.

For many of the experts, conservation is a crucial factor in meeting current and future energy crunches. Van der Ryn emphasizes the importance of conservation because he thinks a majority of Californians still don't perceive any shortages. Energy consumption patterns haven't changed significantly since the 1973 oil crisis, he says, citing as evidence a major bank in the Bay Area that is advertising loans for central air conditioners. ". . . In the Bay Area!" Van der Ryn complains. "It is crazy to use up reserves like Elk Hills. That is strength through exhaustion. We should save our reserves until we need them."

Van der Ryn considers conservation as the least expensive option and nuclear as the most expensive and least safe. He believes Brown may have to resort to liquid natural gas imports to see the state through the mid-1980s, when a real gas and oil crisis is predicted. If the state can survive that period, Van der Ryn says, alternative energy technologies should be on line to ease the crunch.

The Energy Commission appointed by Governor Brown shortly after taking office is now in deep political trouble. Even one of the legislators who authored the bill creating the commission calls himself. . .

Senator Frankenstein

By RON ROACH

"I feel like Dr. Frankenstein," says Senator Alfred Alquist, co-author of the 1974 legislation that created the California Energy Commission. Alquist is a San Jose Democrat who has attacked his creation, calling it a monster for failing to do what he sees as its primary mission — approving new power plants. He wants to abolish the Warren-Alquist Act's commission and replace it with a state Department of Energy.

Charles Warren, the Los Angeles Democrat who cosponsored the act and quit the Assembly last year to become chairman of President Carter's Council on Environmental Quality, says Alquist may be acting hastily. "I'm not convinced that the case has been made for radical alteration of the program," Warren says. "And I'm not happy with everything the commission has done or how it's been managed."

It's hard to find anyone who is totally happy with the commission since it started in January 1975. Even legislators who support the commission are reluctant to step out front and cheer for it. The commission has become a prime whipping-boy for the Legislature. Its budget proposal for 1978-79 may provide one of the big fights between the Senate and the Assembly this month.

Alquist, the Senate's top energy lawmaker and chairman of the Senate subcommittee that deals with the commission budget, has threatened to take a meat ax to the $26.7 million budget proposed for 1978-79 by Governor Jerry Brown. The commission's current budget is $23.9 million. Its staff — 342 people in 1976-77 and 543 this year — would grow to 603 after July 1st. An Assembly Ways and Means subcommittee has tentatively sliced $518,000 of the commission's

Ron Roach is the Capitol correspondent for the San Diego Evening Tribune.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spending power. Most of these cuts, including $200,000 for new lawyers, are likely to remain in the final budget bill, says Assemblyman Vic Fazio, a Sacramento Democrat who heads the subcommittee.

Stacks of bills have been introduced to abolish the commission. None is expected to win approval, particularly in the Assembly, where Speaker Leo McCarthy says flatly that the commission will survive. But it won't come out unscathed, verbally or financially. "There is a lot of valid criticism about the Energy Commission," McCarthy concedes.

The Sundesert target

The chief target for that criticism is the commission's decision on the Sundesert nuclear power project, a plan to build two 950-megawatt reactors in the desert near Blythe at a cost of $2.3 billion. The project is dead, after five years and more than $100 million worth of planning. San Diego Gas & Electric Company (SDG&E), the principal backer, blames the Energy Commission.

Energy Commission Chairman Richard Maullin, Warren and Governor Brown say that state law — not the commission — killed Sundesert. McCarthy, who joins Brown in staunchly defending the 1976 nuclear laws, says this: "Frankly, on this whole Sundesert issue, I get a feeling that the information coming (in) is sometimes contradictory and sometimes tentative or ambivalent . . . I think the Energy Commission can still serve a very useful purpose. Its creation in the first place is a very good objective. Given the importance of the issues, it's very important. I'm not going to support anything that abolishes it."

The 1976 nuclear laws include one that has clamped a de facto moratorium on new nuclear power plants — including Sundesert and Pacific Gas & Electric Company's plan to build reactors in Stanislaus County. The law prohibits the commission from approving a nuclear plant until the Legislature accepts commission findings that the federal government has approved demonstrated technology to store high-level radioactive wastes.

Although SDG&E argues that the technology exists for storing wastes, it could not provide necessary proof that the Carter Administration has certified a repository. The commission in December approved the Blythe area site for some type of power plant and told Sundesert backers they could file for permission to build one reactor. However, in January, the commission recommended to the Legislature that Sundesert not be exempted from the waste disposal law.

After some 30 hours of hearings, the Assembly Resources, Land Use and Energy Committee in April killed the Senate-passed Sundesert exemption bill, SB 1015, and Democratic leaders vowed to help expedite approvals for a coal-fired plant in Imperial County.

Some members of the Assembly committee said granting an exemption would be a breach of faith with California voters, who soundly rejected an initiative in June 1976 that would have had the effect of foreclosing the nuclear option in California. They had been assured that the new nuclear laws provided adequate safeguards. The Legislature passed the unprecedented laws because the initiative, Proposition 15, served as a lever.

So with some public support for its anti-nuclear posture and with strong political allies, the Energy Commission probably will survive its enemies' attacks this year. But the future is less certain: Alquist has a bill, SB 1800, which would create a Department of Energy with one director responsible to the governor. As Alquist says, there would be "accountability." In the eyes of commission critics, California's energy policy-maker currently has five heads, and they sometimes present a split personality.

"Obviously what we have now is total confusion," says Alquist. "A department under the direction of one man — rather than having five, each trying to build their own empire — would pinpoint responsibility much more directly and would, in effect, give the governor even more direct control. He has it now, but what you have built over there is a vast bureaucracy, spending over $20 million a year, asking for a substantial increase in next year's budget. The original legislative intent was to speed up the siting process — you have a one-step stop for the issuance of permits for power plant development.

"But in three years of existence, this agency, this bureaucracy, has done nothing. They have yet to authorize the construction of a single power plant, either nuclear or conventional."

In a news conference in April, Alquist charged that Governor Brown should be held responsible for future shortages of electricity, and he added: "As co-author of the legislation that created the state Energy Commission, sometimes I feel like a Dr. Frankenstein who has created a monster — that its decisions are made to serve the Governor's political ambitions rather than the people of this state."

Warren's view

Warren's Council on Environmental Quality is part of the task force assigned by President Carter to solve the nuclear waste problem. The ex-assemblyman admits California law will continue to ban new nuclear plant construction for a number of years. But he lashes out at Attorney General Evelle Younger, who recently pulled out his deputies from representing the commission on nuclear issues because he disagrees with the Sundesert decision.

"How dare he criticize the Energy Commission for doing what the law requires," says Warren. "That's outrageous. Furthermore, he's wrong."

The Sundesert decision, according to Warren, "is not a reflection of the philosophy of the Energy Commission — it's a reflection of the philosophy of the law. The law prohibits nuclear power plants from being sited, not the Energy Commission. And there's no one in his right mind who could say that the provisions of that law have been met to the degree sufficient to permit siting of nuclear power plants."

Warren says Alquist's proposal to create an energy department would politicize it. To critics who say that it already is politicized, Warren answers: "Yes, that may be, but that is not a fault of the statute. It does not reflect well on how the statute was implemented in the first instance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

. . . What really went wrong was at first, in staffing, there were individuals appointed who were not familiar with the philosophy, let alone the purposes, of the act, and people were brought aboard who were poorly prepared to undertake programs as innovative and as imaginative as the act itself contemplated."

Warren refuses to single out individual commissioners. But he says Governor Brown should have given more attention to the Warren-Alquist Act's requisites "In making the initial appointments, and that's across the board." The law requires the commission to have a public member, a lawyer, a conservationist, an economist and a scientist.

"Also," Warren says, "positions were filled in accordance with the requirements of Civil Service, which resulted in engineering positions, for example, being filled by highway engineers." (In 1975 the Brown Administration cut back on highway construction and the Department of Transportation had to lay off engineers. They had priority status on new government engineering jobs.)

The commission's public member is the chairman: Maullin, a doctor of political science from UCLA and the Rand Corporation. He was one of Brown's top campaign aides in 1974.

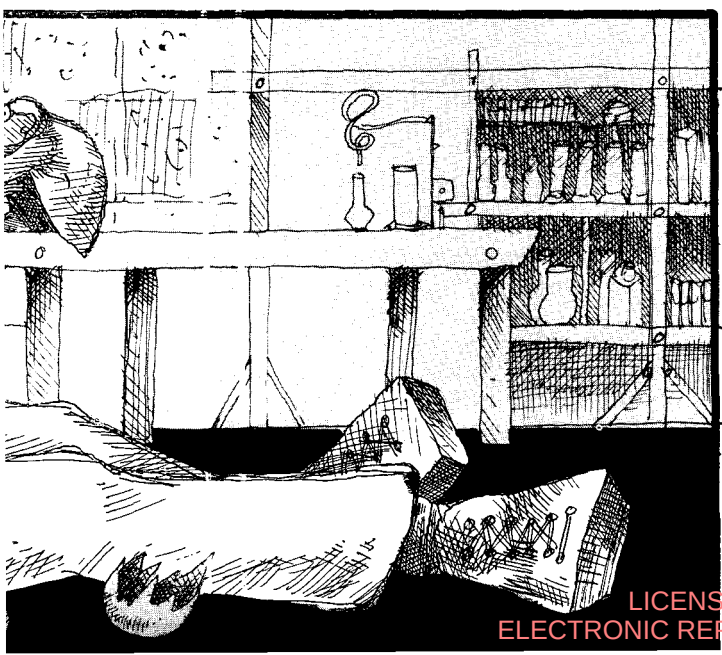
"I think they are just potshots," Maullin says of the bills proposed to abolish the commission. To some degree, he says, the legislative criticism has been prompted by the utilities.

"I just think we're in a very different environment than we were a couple of years ago," says Maullin. "It takes many years for people to come to grips with the new reality of a tight energy situation. So anybody who asks difficult questions, as we often do — where the answers tend to jolt conventional wisdom — then causes a reaction, because somebody's ox may be getting gored.

"I think Sundesert has just been a gathering mechanism that has pulled together all these irritations and it becomes the excuse to attack the whole concept of an active and inquisitive energy agency within state government. It would be a lot more comfortable for a lot of people to simply ignore the questions. To ignore the questions, you get rid of the questioning agency."

Maullin fully anticipates a major battle over commission finances in the Legislature. He says the Assembly budget subcommittee "is really serious about its job" but that the Senate subcommittee "is going to be just political action, no serious attempt at analysis."

Alquist said early this year he would cut the entire commission budget increase proposed in the Governor's budget and would leave the commission penniless if he could. Recently, however, he took a more moderate tone: "We just expect the commission to act a little more responsibly than they have in the past."



A rough beginning

The Energy Commission suffered considerable start-up problems for about 18 months. There was predictable conflict between the chairman, Maullin, and Bob Moretti, former Assembly speaker who was defeated by Brown in a bitter 1974 Democratic gubernatorial primary campaign. Besides problems in hiring qualified staff, the commission was born in the midst of the nuclear debate over Proposition 15, the antinuclear initiative on the June 1976 ballot. The commission was afraid to take action relating to nuclear power, which was the nature of the first power plant proposal to arrive before it. Then Brown gave Commissioner Richard Tuttle a Superior Court judgeship and replaced him with former Warren aide Gene Varanini as the attorney member.

Commenting on the legislative attacks against the commission, Varanini says: "I think that we're being just fractured (in the Capitol) by the utilities, and I think that essentially what's going on is the energy act is the first major piece of legislation where the utilities had to seriously compromise their ability to sort of control the laws that regulate them."

However, Varanini admits, "It is fair to say that this place has had serious start-up problems. You had a right-of-center majority. Things were really screwed up here. The majority that got this thing off the ground were people who favored the utility view, and what they did is they crippled the place for the first 18 months, if you want to be quite candid."

Meanwhile, Moretti, the conservationist member, continued to serve while anticipating an appointment from the Carter Administration. He frequently criticized Brown's energy philosophy and said the commission ducked tough decisions while creating too much paperwork. Moretti resigned last fall and Brown filled the post with Suzanne Reed, a member of Brown's Office of Planning and Research. Now there is a commission of Varanini, Reed, Maullin, Alan Pasternak and Ronald Doctor. Pasternak, the scientist-member, is pronuclear; and Doctor, the economist-member, is antinuclear, so they often cancel each other's vote.

Varanini "is not in line with the Governor," says Dennis Valentine, a chief utilities' lobbyist. "He has some ideas we don't like, but he's not in line with the Governor."

The utilities' view

Valentine says his California Municipal Utilities Association is encouraged by Brown's last two appointments — Varanini and Reed — and doesn't support Alquist's energy department bill.

The commission concept — a one-stop power plant siting authority outside the normal framework of government — is still desirable, Valentine says. The utilities would prefer anything to being under the thumb of Huey Johnson, according to Valentine. Johnson, as Resources Agency secretary, would be an energy director's direct superior and is adamantly opposed to nuclear power as anything but a last resort.

It is obvious that at least some of the commission's problems can be traced back to the differing personalities and purposes of the two authors of the act which created the commission. Warren is a Sierra Club hero; Alquist is a friend of the nuclear industry. No commission could serve both points of view without engaging in a delicate — and controversial — balancing act.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California CAPSULES

Most initiatives fail to qualify for November ballot

Initiative fever continued unabated in California, but most of the measures proposed for the November election ballot were failing to receive enough signatures to qualify. The one exception was the proposal by Senator John Briggs to prohibit homosexuals from teaching in the state's public schools. Needing 312,404 valid signatures, Briggs submitted some 520,000 signatures to county election officials. In late May, the Secretary of State's office said the proposal apparently qualified, although there might be some technical problems. Failing to make the grade were measures dealing with school busing, public funds for abortion, agricultural labor and affirmative action. But Secretary of State March Fong Eu said that about a dozen initiative drives were still alive. One petition was cleared for circulation by the state Supreme Court, which ruled that Attorney General Evelle J. Younger must write a title for a proposal by former Congressman John Schmitz of Orange County. Schmitz' proposal would ban teacher strikes, busing to achieve integration and political contributions by teacher organizations.

Capitol cornerstone relaid in traditional Masonic ceremony

On May 15th, Governor Brown and about 50 legislators participated in an ancient Masonic ceremony in relaying the cornerstone of the state Capitol, which is undergoing reconstruction. The cornerstone contained two bottles of sherry, income-tax forms, a city bus schedule, a list of the Orange County registered voters, a mail-order catalogue and other memorabilia. Governor Brown was handed a gavel and, following Masonic tradition, rapped the cornerstone three times to certify that it was "well-formed, true and trusty." Brown quipped (out of audience earshot): "Three times for three terms."

Court bans change in political reform act via the budget process

The state Court of Appeal in Sacramento has ruled, that the Legislature cannot, in effect, amend the Political Reform Act of 1974 by placing control language in the state budget. Last year, the Legislature tried to restrict campaign audits of the Franchise Tax Board through the budget. The language was vetoed by Governor Brown, and the Legislature responded by urging Controller Ken Cory to limit funds for the audits. The board then sued Cory, and the Fair Political Practices Commission and the Legislature intervened. The FPPC argued that amendments to the reform act must be passed in a special manner specified in the 1974 initiative, and the court agreed.

Abolish 11 boards in consumer agency, draft report urges

A task force within the state Department of Consumer Affairs has produced a draft report recommending that 11 of the state's regulatory boards be abolished or merged with other boards. The recommendations have not yet been approved by the Brown Administration or submitted to the Legislature. Among the boards under fire: certified shorthand reporters, behavioral science examiners, psychology examining committee, guide dogs for the blind, geologists and geophysicists, landscape architects, employment agencies, architectural examiners, cosmetology and barber examiners.

Newsmakers

Another into the lion's den

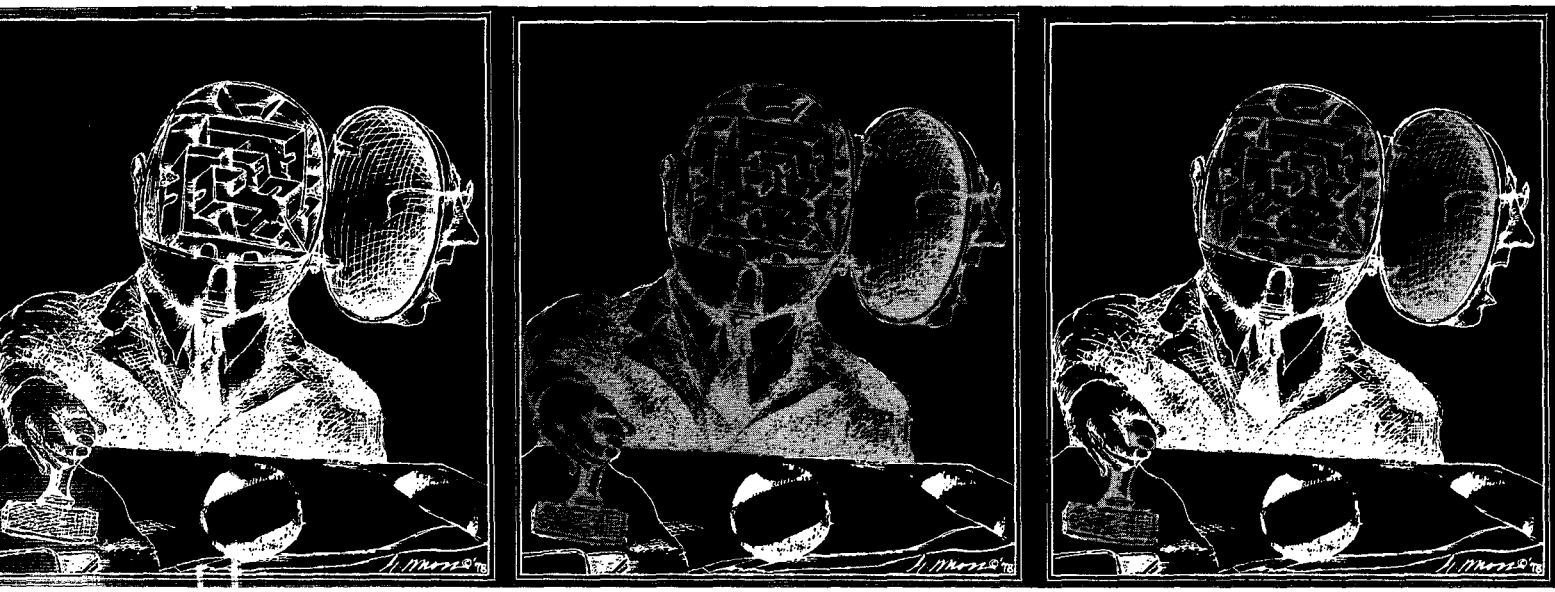
Harry J. Delizonna, embattled chief administrator for the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board, has resigned his post and reestablished his law practice in San Jose. Governor Brown promptly appointed a successor — **Boren Chertkov,** chief counsel of the House Ethics Committee in Washington. Chertkov's appointment came under fire from grower groups because he is a former lawyer for an AFL-CIO organization. Delizonna was under attack from some members of the ALRB and many of his employees . . . Other appointments: **Frederick E. John,** 32, as executive director of the California Public Utilities Commission, succeeding **Phillip E. Blecher,** who died last month of a heart attack at 48; **Tom Hayden,** head of the Campaign for Economic Democracy, as California representative of Western SUN, an organization dedicated to the promotion of solar energy.

Congressman **Leo J. Ryan** of South San Francisco was reprimanded by fellow Democrats for leaking a draft committee report criticizing the Carter Administration's nuclear power policies . . . Former Congressman **Richard Hanna** of Orange County was sentenced to a term of from six months to 2½ years for his role in the South Korean influence-buying scandal . . . State Controller **Ken Cory** announced that he is selling a ranch he owns jointly with two men who provided the bulk of his 1974 campaign support, Richard O'Neill and Dr. Louis Cella.

Senator **S. I. Hayakawa** filed a financial-disclosure statement indicating that he and his wife, Margedant, are worth between $970,000 and $3.3 million . . . *The San Francisco Examiner* revealed that **Paul Halvonik,** nominated by Governor Brown for an appellate judgeship, has been serving as state public defender for more than two years without ever having had his name submitted to the state Senate for approval, as required by law.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Health reorganization: five departments, same disease



By TONY QUINN

A poll of legislators in 1977 asked the question: Which is the worst department in state government? The pollsters hardly need have asked, for back came an almost unanimous answer: the State Department of Health.

For years the state health establishment has been accused of a myriad of sins, including inept administration, sloppy practices, scandal, waste, low morale and employee conflicts. It is a favorite whipping boy of those who complain of insensitive bureaucracies and government waste. The Legislature became so dissatisfied with the Health Department in 1977 that it voted to abolish it outright and spread its functions among five smaller departments.

The saga of the State Department of Health is the story of California's failure to develop a comprehensive system of delivering health care services. More than three million Californians receive some form of public health services, primarily Medi-Cal, the health-care system for the poor which serves more than 2.5 million Californians. One-third of the state budget goes for health and welfare-related matters. At the time it was broken up, the Health Department employed 23,000 persons, most of whom worked in the state's 11 mental hospitals.

Problems in health care are nothing new. Throughout American history the role of public health has been uncertain and subject to controversy. For many years it coexisted with private medicine, with the private sector the dominant supplier of health care services. But with the Great Society programs of the 1960s, the government's role in health care escalated. In 1965 Congress enacted the Medicaid program, which promised matching federal funds to states with approved health care programs for the poor. California reacted by creating Medi-Cal, a massive state program of subsidies for medical needs for poverty-level persons, mostly welfare recipients. A new state department was created to administer the Medi-Cal program.

That department joined two older state departments already providing services in the health field. The Department of Public Health performed traditional functions: prevention and detection of chronic and infectious diseases, health programs for mothers and children, crippled children's services, prevention of disease and job-related health hazards, hospital construction aid, and licensing and standard-setting for various health facilities and occupations. The Department of Mental Hygiene, founded in 1945, operated hospitals for the mentally ill and the mentally retarded and administered the Short-Doyle program. Short-Doyle is a system of state subsidies to counties for community mental health treatment.

A Health Services Department was established to run the Medi-Cal program, and it quickly outstripped the two older departments in size, budget outlay and ability to generate

Tony Quinn, a frequent contributor to the Journal, *is coauthoring a book on California public administration.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

controversy. While the objective of the Medi-Cal program was to bring the poor into the mainstream of health care, few people had any concept of its costs, and in the first few years they skyrocketed. The Reagan Administration first attempted to hold down costs administratively, but then finally it went to the Legislature with a reform program in 1971, hoping to put a lid on rising Medi-Cal costs.

Reagan also decided to reorganize the health departments, both to curtail costs and to increase efficiency. As early as 1967, Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post had urged a restructuring of the state health system. Post felt that while the state had vastly increased its role in health care, primarily through Medi-Cal, it had failed to establish a health delivery system to channel state and federal funds into areas of predetermined priority. The three health departments were accused of overlapping one another and other state agencies peripherally involved with health care, such as the departments of Rehabilitation and Social Welfare.

The reorganization plan for health was unveiled in 1970 and went into effect in 1973. The new Department of Health assumed the functions of the three old departments, and the centralization was justified like this: "Fragmentation prevents effective planning, creates confusion at both the state and local level, and limits the state's ability to achieve maximum benefit from its expenditures for health. The consumer has been left with the formidable task of threading his way through a maze of health services in attempting to find the types of assistance appropriate to his needs."

Almost from the day this massive department came into being it was under attack. Many health professionals and persons active in anti-poverty programs accused the Reagan Administration of consolidating these various health services into a single department to destroy the independence and commitment of health care administrators. The department was accused of having a hostile attitude toward the poor, of continued mismanagement of the state hospitals, and of failure to oversee the Medi-Cal program and the pre-paid health plans formed under Medi-Cal.

Criticism did not let up when Reagan was succeeded by Governor Brown, and much of the criticism was now directed at Brown's controversial Health Department director, Dr. Jerome Lackner. Legislators complained that the department, rather than operating more efficiently with all health care services under one roof, had become an unmanageable maze of competing interests. Many felt it was impossible for one person to administer a department of 23,000 employees.

The ills of the Health Department were catalogued by its critics: a constant reshuffling of positions in an effort to achieve the elusive efficiency that the reorganization plan had promised, erosion of professional competence, expansion of department administration coupled with a reduction in services, and recriminations against those who complained about all this. As the departmental bureaucracy grew, channels of communications and the chains of command lengthened between middle-level professionals and the decision makers at the top. As a result, decisions were made with little appreciation of their impact on health care quality and delivery.

Program professionals accused top management of failing to develop a sense of common purpose, and the managers charged the health professionals with obstructing administration policies. The department became caught up in larger social changes: escalating health care costs, frustrations of the poor, a loss of political support for "welfare programs," and abuse of the system by entrepreneurs who saw in the increased government expenditures for health a chance to reap huge profits.

By 1977 dissatisfaction was so great that the state felt the need once again for radical surgery. This time the Legislature wielded the scalpel, and the massive department was split up into five smaller units. Ironically, the criticism which led to the dissolution of the Health Department centered about the Medi-Cal program, operation of the mental hospitals and the general quality of public health in California — the three functional areas which had been combined to create the department in the first place.

Back to the fragments

This latest reorganization is really a restructuring of the entire Health and Welfare Agency, one of the four massive agencies of state government and the one most often criticized. For several years this agency included the Youth Authority and Department of Corrections. Now both of these have been removed, effective 1979. The agency will continue to include three older departments — Employment Development, Rehabilitation and Aging — in addition to the five new health-related departments.

- ***Department of Health Services.*** This is the granddaddy of the new organization, with responsibility for all public health programs and the huge Medi-Cal program. Most of the functions of the old Health Department ended up in this department. *(See following article.)*

- ***Department of Mental Health.*** For 30 years the state's efforts to aid the mentally ill and the mentally retarded were under one head. Not any more. The new Department of Mental Health will concern itself only with the mentally ill, those persons so gravely disabled by emotional problems that they pose a danger to society or are unable to care for themselves. It will also operate two state hospitals: Metropolitan and Atascadero.

The father of the mental health structure in California is Assemblyman Frank Lanterman. He authored several legislative acts which shifted treatment of the mentally ill from state hospitals to local community treatment facilities. The primary legislative directive governing mental health services is the Lanterman-Petris-Short Act, passed in 1969. This act placed restrictions on the power of the courts to commit people to mental hospitals, in an effort to assure that the state was not arbitrarily incarcerating the mentally ill. It also assured certain civil rights to persons in state hospitals.

Despite the generally humane provisions of this law, and the extensive treatment facilities available to the mentally ill in California, the state's effort continues to be beset with controversy and dissatisfaction. The state has been accused of serious failure to supervise the operation of several mental hospitals, where it is alleged patients have been mistreated and in some cases even died because of staff neglect.

- ***Department of Developmental Services.*** The state's

The Introduction Service

It isn't exactly computerized dating, but at least it's free.

Why don't you do your friends and the *Journal* a favor by matching us up?

If you find the *Journal* worthwhile, perhaps your friends, relatives and business associates will feel the same fond way about us. Just send us their names and addresses, and we'll send each of them a free sample copy of the *Journal* with your compliments.

Our matchmakers are in the *Journal* Subscription Department, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

care of the mentally retarded — those now classified as developmentally disabled — has fared only slightly better. Under the old Health Department structure, mental retardation services were divided among several units. Complaints were common that one division did not know what the others were doing. The reorganization unites all services to the mentally retarded into a single Department of Developmental Services, with operational control over nine of the state hospitals.

Part of the philosophy for this new department is to separate the mentally retarded from the mentally ill. Mental illness is a situation in which a person is emotionally disabled. Mental retardation — or the broader term, developmental disability — involves a neurological handicap which requires special treatment and therapy.

• ***Department of Alcohol and Drug Abuse.*** This new department combines the duties of the old Office of Alcoholism and the State Office of Narcotics and Drug Abuse. It has two divisions, reflecting its dual functions. The Division of Alcoholism is responsible for state programs devoted to prevention, treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics. Most programs are carried out by the counties, with the state paying the largest share of the overall costs. The Division of Narcotics and Drug Abuse is a central information resource on drug abuse treatment and prevention, and on research into narcotics and dangerous drugs.

The division also oversees the state methadone maintenance program. Methadone is a self-administered drug which heroin addicts take to overcome their need for heroin. While methadone maintenance is considered among the most enlightened solutions to the problem of heroin addiction, it is itself susceptible to abuse. Methadone maintenance was one of the old Health Department functions most often criticized for inadequate and slipshod supervision.

• ***Department of Social Services.*** This department will assume most of the functions performed by the old Department of Benefit Payments, which administered California's often controversial welfare laws. It also has the responsibility for the state's homemaker chore program, which is designed to help elderly and disabled people remain in their own homes. The department licenses board-and-care homes and is responsible for federally funded social services such as aid to the blind and disabled.

Too busy to plan

The 1977 reorganization also created an Office of Health Planning which encompasses various planning functions formerly spread throughout the old Health Department. The new office is the state's health planning agency which is required under federal health laws. It is responsible for granting certificates of need for the development or expansion of hospitals, nursing homes and clinics.

Critics of the state health system contend that California lacks comprehensive planning, particularly in preventive medicine, although the state has been involved with public health matters for more than 50 years. There are too few primary-care physicians, and the inner cities and rural areas lack doctors and middle-level health personnel. High malpractice-insurance fees and the rise in hospital costs assure continued high medical bills.

Confronting these problems has kept the state too busy for long-range planning. Yet without planning, there is no way the state can decide the trade-offs in money and personnel that successful and efficient administration of the state health care system demands.

MEDI-CAL—'A disaster waiting to happen'

By PEGGY FLYNN

When Governor Brown staged a press conference last month to charge five hospitals with $1 million worth of Medi-Cal fraud, he was flogging a favorite whipping-boy. The Medi-Cal program is so complex and controversial that, after 12 years, the term "Medi-Cal" is nearly synonymous in the public mind with waste, scandal and governmental mismanagement.

The new state budget allots $3.7 billion for the program and, like all health costs in the country, the price tag gets bigger every year. But high cost is only one of Medi-Cal's miseries. One frustrated health consultant sums them up this way: "Nothing really new will happen to the system until it's a complete disaster — and we're still a ways from that. So, in the meantime, all we're doing is shoring up the system, tinkering and tinkering."

That tinkering goes on at various levels of government and produces frequent waves of accusations, investigations and reorganizations. But does it produce any better health care for the poor? As costs soar, the basic question remains: Can any government-controlled health program be run efficiently and effectively?

The answer depends on whom you ask and which of Medi-Cal's many illnesses you're discussing. Here are case histories of some of its major problems:

• ***Prepaid health plans***— Scandals in California's prepaid-health organizations received front page treatment last year. Investigators turned up salesmen, dressed as physicians, going door-to-door to convince or coerce Medi-Cal eligibles to enroll in their health organizations. They also found nonprofit corporations which subcontracted with for-profit organizations, while both outfits had essentially the same board of directors. Soon after the state and federal investigations, Congress passed the Health Maintenance Organization Amendments of 1976. These required that states contracting for prepaid health services for Medi-Cal beneficiaries could do so only with federally qualified Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs). Of the 27 plans with which the state had contracts, only 13 could meet those requirements or were considered to be exceptions because they were grantees of federal funds under other health programs.

Largely overlooked in all the scandal coverage was a federal grant of $5.2 million to the State Department of Health from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to develop systems to monitor prepaids. The project is called Prepaid Health Research, Evaluation and Demonstration (PHRED). Rigby E. Leighton, project director, says the project's goal is to improve the state's ability to purchase prepaid health care for Medi-Cal beneficiaries and to make sure that the care is being delivered with reasonable quality in reasonable quantity. "If we do what we say we mean to," Leighton says, "then we'll make the state Health Department a more capable manager of health-care delivery."

Peggy Flynn is a Sacramento freelance writer specializing in health issues.

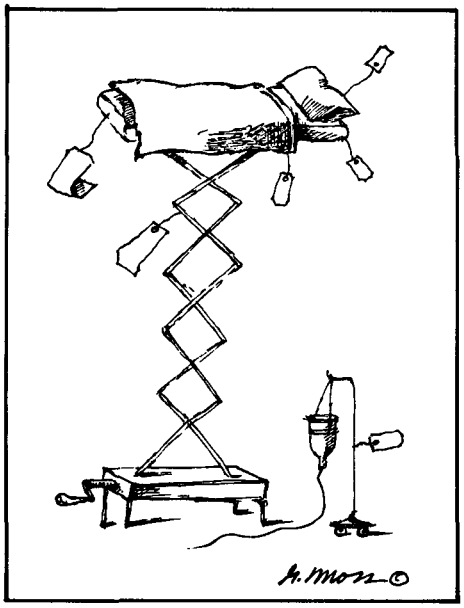
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• ***Administrative ineptness*** – Even some critics of the Health Department point to the PHRED project as a healthy sign of change in a sad record of state administration of Medi-Cal funds. Dr. Paul O'Rourke, former staff member to the State Office of Research and to the Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy (the Little Hoover Commission), believes that one of the biggest problems with Medi-Cal has been the lack of administrative management within the Department of Health. But the latest Little Hoover report on the administration of the Medi-Cal program says: "We are pleased to report that this review led the commission to conclude that, under new leadership, the division (Medi-Cal) is in the process of implementing 90 percent of the commission's recommendations."

• ***Fiscal intermediary problems*** – Getting the medical bills paid is the task of a "fiscal intermediary," which in California is a consortium of Blue Cross North and South and Blue Shield called Medi-Cal Intermediary Operations (MIO). The state pays MIO about $40 million a year to process and pay Medi-Cal claims. MIO in turn subcontracts with Texas millionaire Ross Perot's firm, Electronic Data System (EDS). Complaints about this system have usually centered around MIO making millions of dollars and yet operating at no risk. More important, if the state doesn't have control over the information systems containing basic details of the program, how can it ever control basic policy decisions?

In response, the Health Department has issued a request for proposal of bids for a new fiscal intermediary contract. Bruce Yarwood, deputy director of Medi-Cal, says the state wants to have written documents outlining minimum risks and also wants the rights to systems that are developed, with the options of taking over. "The state definitely has not done the best job in managing its contractual relationships with MIO in the past," he admits.

Recently, however, several health organizations and the Joint Legislative Budget Committee have criticized the proposed change in intermediaries. The department's ability to handle the new program has been questioned. And the California Medical Association (CMA) testified that the fiscal intermediary should "retain the independent capability to make medical judgments as to the pricing or appropriateness of services," since those decisions are now made by physician-consultants. CMA also said, "It would be a grave mistake, in our opinion, to take this responsibility away from the fiscal intermediary and vest it with state government and state employees who are removed from the everyday practice of medicine."



• ***County costs*** – Before the enactment of Medi-Cal legislation, county health departments were the only sources of care available to poor people. In fact, county health departments were mandated to accept the poor and non-paying patients. The Medi-Cal program was, at least in the beginning, a boon to the counties. They received reimbursement for Medi-Cal eligibles they saw, and the counties had somewhat lighter caseloads because some Medi-Cal people started going to private physicians. At first the program was a benefit to physicians, too, who could count on a certain amount of Medi-Cal money each month. But the biggest benefit was to counties which participated in something called the "county option program." Since most Medi-Cal beneficiaries continued to go to the counties for their care, and because there were many others who weren't eligible for Medi-Cal but still couldn't pay, the option plan allowed counties to pay a specified amount into a Health Care Deposit Fund. From this the state reimbursed them for care provided to all nonpaying patients — Medi-Cal enrollees and other poor but ineligible people. Most of the larger counties in the state participated in the program.

But in the Medi-Cal Reform Act of 1971, the option portion was eliminated. As a result, a larger financial burden was shifted to the counties, and to county taxpayers, because they were not fully reimbursed for providing care to the medically indigent.

Consultant O'Rourke says the counties are in terrible shape: "I see evidence of imminent collapse of the county health system, mainly due to the 1971 reform act and the continual escalation of Medi-Cal costs."

• ***Hospital costs*** – Medi-Cal's biggest cost problem is in hospitals. "It's probably the most important facet of health care costs and delivery that we have to deal with," Yarwood says. "Cost containment of hospital fees has to be one of our biggest thrusts right now."

He has lots of agreement on that front. The California Health Facilities Commission's latest annual report notes that "Californians now are spending more than $6 billion dollars annually for hospital services. Fifty percent of these funds are derived from federal, state and local taxes."

What the Department of Health is currently working on is a project called the "prudent buyer concept." In this plan, the state would select hospital providers that have lower rates and contract with them to accept Medi-Cal enrollees at a price break to the state. Participating hospitals would be able to decrease their number of empty beds and operate more cost-efficiently.

• ***Physician fees*** – The California Medical Association points out that physicians have only received one increase (two and a half percent) in reimbursement rates since the beginning of the program. This, it says, is one big reason why many physicians refuse to add new Medi-Cal enrollees to their patient load.

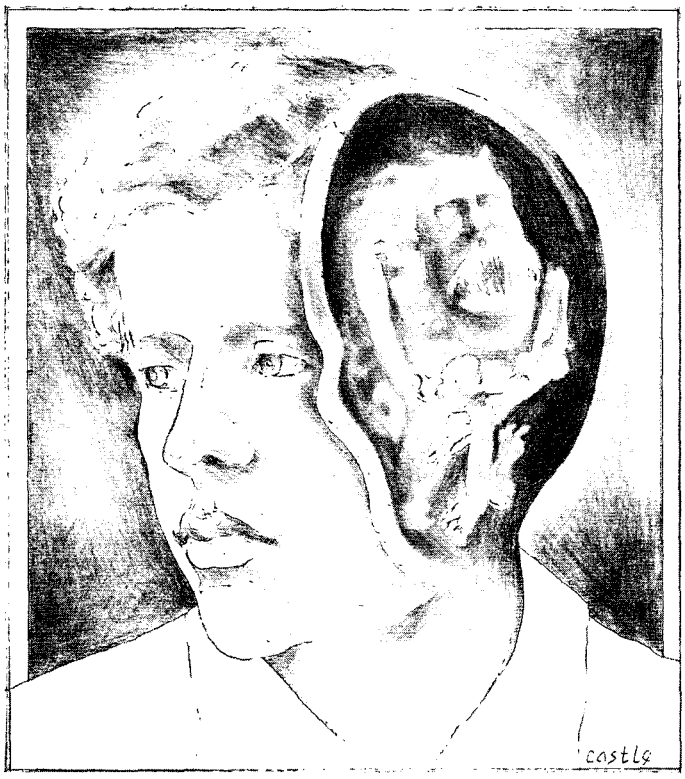
• ***Reorganization*** – Will the latest reorganization of the Department of Health affect the Medi-Cal program? Yarwood says yes: "We'll be able to focus better on the ties between Medi-Cal and public health programs." PHRED Director Leighton says it makes sense for Medi-Cal and public health to be together and at least "it won't make it any worse." Democratic Senator Arlen Gregorio, who authored the departmental reorganization bill, says it isn't a question of the reorganization affecting Medi-Cal "but the other way around . . . Medi-Cal is such an enormous problem."

Problem it is. But can it be solved? George Cate, in the Sacramento office of CMA, sighs and says only, "Who knows?" Private health consultant Thomas G. Moore Jr. — a former division director in the Department of Health — sees it this way:

"The obligation and mandate are clear: Medi-Cal was supposed to be a tool to improve health care, to bring the poor into the mainstream of health care. But it's not being done. Medi-Cal isn't even really a health care program — it's a budget program. There's no clear plan, no strategy. And we're floundering."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Heat on the Youth Authority for punishment, not treatment



By PAT WASHBURN

• A 14-year-old Pasadena boy slashed a woman who caught him burglarizing her home. He stopped only when a companion intervened, and then fled with the woman's purse. The boy was referred to the California Youth Authority (CYA) by a juvenile court referee. Explaining that the boy was "basically nondelinquent" and that he seemed sorry about his act, a CYA counselor argued against his commitment.

• A 19-year-old shot his stepfather in the head several times and then, before leaving for a baseball game, tore up the house to make it look as if burglars had committed the crime. He was referred to CYA after being convicted of second-degree murder, and was released after seven months. Officials explained that the boy was an outstanding student and that this was his first offense.

• A 13-year-old San Francisco girl was convicted of conspiracy to commit murder, kidnapping, robbery and auto theft after she and an 18-year-old boy had kidnapped a nurse from a shopping center. The boy robbed the nurse and shot her to death. The 13-year-old, who had no prior record, was sentenced to CYA. A month later a two-member sub-unit of the CYA ordered her parole, but public protest caused her to be sentenced to a three-year term.

Case histories like these have spurred efforts to toughen and to reevaluate the CYA. A fearful public is demanding more protection and more stringent Youth Authority action. In dealing with violent young criminals, that agency has been caught in the crossfire between two opposing philosophies: retributive punishment versus treatment, training and rehabilitation.

Despite the best intentions of CYA officials, juvenile crime statistics are staggering. A report issued recently by the Los Angeles County Grand Jury indicates that nearly half of all serious crimes in California are committed by juveniles. And the CYA population is becoming older, tougher, more violent. Now most wards are "adults" — the average age is 18.6. Nearly half are guilty of a violent crime such as homicide, assault or robbery. Fifty-one percent have been sent to CYA by an adult court.

Originally the CYA was intended to insulate juveniles from hardened criminals. More and more it has become the custodian of criminals who have been convicted of violent crimes. Despite this, since 1975 the average amount of time an inmate spends locked up has dropped from 12.7 months to 10.9 months.

Brown's tough talk

Governor Brown, faced with mounting election-year criticism that his administration has been soft on young criminals, speaks as a no-nonsense fighter against growing violence. Responding to questions about leniency toward older, more violent CYA wards, Brown said recently: "My belief is that people who commit heinous crimes should spend significant amounts of time in prison if they are convicted in a court of law . . . It's time to change the Youth Authority so that one of the objects is punishment. Today that is not the law."

In keeping with such thinking, the CYA board in mid-April toughened its parole guidelines for violent offenders. For major crimes (murder, rape with force or violence) committed after June 1, parole consideration dates will be lengthened by one or two years. CYA Director Pearl West acknowledged the change was being made to meet increasing public concern: "People are quite understandably uptight."

A continuing debate centers around whether CYA can ever rehabilitate its wards. West believes that young criminals deserve special treatment and training by virtue of their youth, presuming they have not already established themselves as chronically violent human beings. Yet Governor Brown has been heard to scoff at the "so-called expertise of people who think they can rehabilitate people." In his get-tough mood, he says, "The purpose of the criminal justice system is to provide punishment for those who violate the law. Whether or not they can reform themselves, that's

Pat Washburn is a free-lance writer in Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

really up to them."

West has asked the Governor to appoint a blue-ribbon commission to do what would be the first review of the 37-year-old Youth Authority Act. She supports the philosophy behind the act, if not its exact wording. But she says it is incorrect to say the CYA Act does not include punishment: "I would like an acknowledgement that locking someone up is punishment."

Brown insists that the trend toward shorter incarcerations is not attributable to any policies of his. He considers the building of new prisons as "the next most important step to insure that serious violent and other anti-social offenders are locked up for an adequate period of time."

But the central issue remains whether CYA should stress punishment over rehabilitation. That debate has the public, the Legislature, the courts, and the Brown Administration engaged in a tug-of-war over what to do with 12,000 young delinquents between the ages of 12 and 23, many of whom are guilty of felonies.

Legislative responses

Responding to their reading of the public mood, several members of the Legislature have introduced bills that would toughen CYA sentencing policies and limit the types of criminals that may enter CYA.

Democrat Assemblyman Alister McAlister has initiated a proposal to lengthen terms for violent young criminals. His legislation would require adult sentences for youths convicted of violent crimes unless the CYA board concludes that the public safety would not be endangered by their release. Republican Senator George Deukmejian has sponsored legislation for Attorney General Evelle Younger which would prohibit judges from sending young adults, 18 to 20 years old, to CYA. If passed, any youth 18 or older would go to the Adult Authority, no matter what the crime. West, however, argues that she wants the CYA to have the right to reject or to accept a youth. Reportedly, the Department of Corrections agrees with her.

Most hardliners speak little about the social implications of juvenile crime. Not surprisingly, nearly three-quarters of the CYA wards are from broken homes and many have been the victims of child abuse. More than half of the CYA population are Blacks and Chicanos from communities where the unemployment rate for young people is pushing 40 percent. The relationship of these grim statistics to minority crime rates cannot be ignored.

Says two-term CYA board member James Stratten of the proposed legislation: "If they keep on in the direction they've started we may see an end to the Youth Authority as an agency designed to provide treatment and rehabilitation for young people. In an atmosphere of hysteria [the state legislators] have enacted laws aimed at punishing young people just like adults . . . We can provide stiff enough conditions for youthful offenders without turning our facilities into prisons."

The early picture

As conceived in 1941, CYA was an alternative to sending youths to state prisons. The Youth Authority Act states its purpose: "To protect society more effectively by substituting for retributive punishment methods of training and treatment directed towards the correction and rehabilitation of young persons found guilty of public offenses." At that time the population of young offenders was composed mainly of truants and runaways — a situation radically different from the current one.

CYA is actually two agencies — the state Department of the Youth Authority, which runs the 15 locked institutions and conservation camps, and the eight-member CYA board

Pearl West

that sets terms for the young criminals sent there by the juvenile and adult courts. Board members, assisted by 10 hearing officers, work full time and as a group are responsible for 40,000 decisions a year. Board members are appointed by the governor to four-year terms. Five of the present eight members are Brown appointees, and there are two vacancies yet to be filled.

By law, the same person must head both the department and the board. Governor Brown appointed Pearl West director of the CYA and chairperson of the board in October 1976. She became the first woman in the nation to head a state correction agency when she replaced Allen Breed.

Her credentials include experience as a special consultant to the California Council on Criminal Justice and as chairperson of the Juvenile Justice Commission of San Joaquin County. She has also served as president of such organizations as the League of Woman Voters, the World Affairs Council, the American Association of the United Nations and the San Joaquin County School Board Association.

An articulate and relaxed woman, West, 55, is married to a Stockton vascular surgeon and has four sons. She operates on a tight daily schedule, planned literally to the minute. Although she heads an agency which oversees 12,000 wards and has 4,200 employees, with an annual budget of $152 million, West maintains a calm manner. It's a tough pace, she says, "but I have finally got my work week down to 70 hours, and I consider that a massive achievement."

Like most of her predecessors, West believes young criminals should be treated and rehabilitated, and that locking them up for long periods will only make them worse. "We're not running a country club. We do have to be tough on violent offenders, but at the same time we cannot turn our backs on them forever." She questions the validity of longer incarcerations, saying that "the longer people are incarcerated the more they're dependent on a controlled environment and the harder time they have on the streets . . . Whether people stay 10 months or 12 months, the facts are that they are going back on the street." It costs between $13,000 and $20,000 per year to incarcerate a youth in CYA (compared to $5,000 for an adult), West says. "Long Youth Authority incarcerations don't necessarily lead to successful

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adult lives. The kids should never lose sight of the fact that our job and their job is to prepare them to constructively return to the streets."

Subsidies — good or bad?

A program called Probation Subsidy, which started in 1965, has significantly affected the CYA population and contributed to criticism of the authority's work. In 1965 about 70 percent of CYA inmates were between 8 and 17 years old. Today more than 70 percent are between 17 and 25. CYA says the environment inside institutions has changed so much that some youths are better kept out.

So Probation Subsidy provides cash bonuses of up to $7,000 per juvenile to counties that deal with offenders at the local level. This reduces the number of youths sent to CYA and decreases state costs, since the bonuses are less than the costs of incarcerating the youth. The program generates heated opposition from law enforcement officials who contend that it encourages counties to grant probation to persons who should be behind bars, and that the program has had no effect upon recidivism rates. But nevertheless, counties are holding younger, less violent offenders at the local level and sending older, more seriously delinquent youths to CYA. A report issued by the University of California at Davis last year indicated that the Probation Subsidy program saved nearly $100 million in the last 10 years — but has resulted in increases in crime. CYA officials respond that the program has been fairly successful in the counties where it has been given a fair trial.

Among the most vocal critics of the program is Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy: "We've had this atrocious Probation Subsidy program for 12 years in which we bribe local government to keep dangerous felons in their own jurisdiction so we keep down the costs of state prisons. But we really don't have any serious, extensive efforts to try to reach youthful offenders before they become incorrigible."

The $20 million-per-year program may soon be facing an expensive overhaul. Democrat Assemblyman Julian Dixon has proposed a $55 million revision of Probation Subsidy that will enable local authorities to fashion crime-prevention programs to meet local needs. Governor Brown is reported to be "in support of the intent" of the bill.

Another area of controversy involves a bill (AB 3121) which went into effect this year. It prohibits the detention in juvenile halls or jails of any youth whose only crime is truancy, disobedience, curfew violation or running away. The bill encourages the communities to develop programs for these "status offenders" to prevent them from further penetrating into the criminal justice system. Four years ago more than 40 percent of the juveniles confined in county jails were there for behavior that would not be illegal for an adult. West takes pride in this "flushing out" of status offenders as one of her major accomplishments.

But Assemblyman Dixon, who authored AB 3121, has apparently had a change of heart. He and six other assemblymen recently introduced a bill that would allow authorities to incarcerate a youth picked up for curfew violation or some other status offense long enough to check for outstanding warrants and to notify parents. This could take up to six days. The bill also would permit a judge to incarcerate a youth for 90 days if the judge believes the youngster to be in danger because of medical, drinking or related problems. Dixon says he still thinks that the CYA should emphasize rehabilitation and avoid punishment when no crime has been committed. But, he says, youths who do not voluntarily respond to rehabilitative efforts are "slipping by us with no help whatsoever" and should be incarcerated to obtain that treatment.

Critics say Dixon's latest bill is unsound because it means locking up wayward children who are not criminals. Doug Knight, a CYA employee who is also a member of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, says status offenders "are not the kids who escalate into chronic and serious delinquency . . . The child-savers of the criminal justice system ought to pay more attention to youths who have committed serious crimes. Fussing over the Huckleberry Finns of the community . . . leaves little time for robbers and thieves." Knight believes that the status offenders are more properly and more successfully handled by community programs, rather than by CYA and juvenile hall jails.

Another controversial piece of legislation okayed last year — the Determinate Sentencing Act — means that CYA can no longer incarcerate a ward longer than he would be as an adult committing the same crime. West said this has forced CYA to "release people we know are dangerous."

A recent transfer of 21 hard-core youths 18 to 20 years old to Deuel Vocational Institute (DVI) near Tracy appears to be an acknowledgement that a volatile element of toughened young criminals currently in CYA cannot be helped or controlled by CYA facilities. The CYA was shaken recently by the murders of two Youth Training School wards at Chino. According to CYA officials, as many as 250 wards may eventually be transferred to the Department of Corrections.

The pendulum effect

So as administrations come and go and CYA policies swing between punishment and treatment, the problems of youth crime remain. Until the mid-60s no one but correctional officers paid much attention to these problems. Then white, middle-class families found their children going to jail, mainly on drug charges. Protests that the CYA was too hard and that it was turning children into criminals incited efforts to make the CYA more lenient. Now critics claim that CYA gone too far and that it is treating violent criminals like children.

Allen Breed, who served more than eight years as director before West, offered some realistic but troubling advice when he warned California parents to "sell the family jewels, mortgage the house, borrow all the money you can from friends and relatives. Do whatever you can to keep [your child] out of the system. We'll screw him up in all our fine efforts to help him."

The ideal way to store your Journals

Sturdy and attractive *Journal* binders are now back in stock and available for immediate shipment. These binders are made from the finest quality buckram and are stamped with gold-foil letters. They are available for the years 1970 through 1978 (also blank) and each binder contains enough space for a full year of magazines plus the annual index.

The price for each binder is $7.42, including sales tax. Shipping and handling are free only on prepaid, Visa and Master Charge orders. (Annual indexes are $2.50 each.)

Send your binder orders to the *California Journal Press*, 1617 10th St., Sacramento, 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'Pro-life' versus 'planned parenthood'

The long-anticipated abortion confrontation finally occurred on the floor of the Assembly May 22nd, and those opposing public funding of abortion won the first round. At issue was a bill by Assemblyman Willie L. Brown of San Francisco appropriating about $71 million to make up an anticipated fiscal-year deficit in the massive state Medi-Cal program. The total included $25 million for termination-of-pregnancy operations, most of which have already been performed. The vote was 44-27, 10 short of the two-thirds majority required for the measure. Democrats divided 37-14 on the roll call, and Republicans were split 7-13.

Gift from Washington

The bruising conflict was set in motion last year when the federal government decided it would no longer pay for abortions for the poor, except for some limited situations. Governor Brown refused to cut off abortions under Medi-Cal, but it was obvious that eventually he would have to come before the Legislature to fund the program. The major battle was expected to be fought over the Medi-Cal appropriation in next year's budget, but that was before it was known that the Brown Administration would be forced to seek a deficiency appropriation to cover this year's deficit.

While the Brown bill was undergoing committee hearings, both sides in the conflict — "pro-life" organizations seeking a complete cutoff of funding and planned-parenthood forces seeking retention of the status quo — started to talk compromise. Before the bill reached the Assembly floor, an amendment was inserted in the measure restricting Medi-Cal abortions to the first 13 weeks of pregnancy and thereafter to only certain aggravated cases, such as rape and incest. But that did not buy enough votes on the Assembly floor, where Assemblyman Alister McAlister declared: "If people want abortions, there are plenty of charitable institutions where they can get them." Brown pointed out that many of the abortions to be funded by the bill have already been performed (an estimated 77,000 abortions are funded by Medi-Cal each year) and the state will be open to lawsuits by health-care providers if the funds are not appropriated.

The Brown bill was granted reconsideration, which means that it can now be amended and taken up again if and when the sponsors feel they have the necessary 54 votes. It has been assumed that the abortion issue would be decided through the Brown bill rather than through the state budget because the fundamental issue is the same in both cases. If a compromise cannot be negotiated, however, the entire state budget could be held up past the July 1st start of the fiscal year. What is the key to an agreement? Among the provisions that have been suggested: a limitation of three Medi-Cal abortions to any woman. This is designed to defuse the argument that some women are using free Medi-Cal abortions almost as a method of contraception, obtaining as many as a dozen abortions a year.

Overtime and reporters

In the Senate, the Industrial Relations committee killed a bill designed to protect employees from being forced to work overtime by their employers. The heavily lobbied bill was opposed by business organizations. Governor Brown endorsed the bill prior to the committee hearing, but the vote was 4-2 against approval. On the Senate floor, Assemblyman Jerry Lewis fell four votes short of winning approval for his proposed "shield law" constitutional amendment allowing reporters to refuse to identify confidential sources.

Senate

MISCELLANEOUS

SB 1432 (Dunlap) — Revises manner in which school revenue limits may be increased to finance education of non-immigrant, non-citizen children. Passed 27-7.

SB 1578 (Presley) — Prohibits health facilities from purchasing tomographic scanners costing more than $150,000 without state approval. Defeated 12-13.

SB 1437 (Dennis Carpenter) — Allows police to search bodies of persons killed in traffic accidents for anatomical donor cards. Passed 23-4.

SB 1362 (Smith) — Requires civil cases with the amount in dispute less than $15,000 to be submitted to arbitration in courts with 10 or more judges. Passed 35-1.

SB 1328 (Zenovich) — Regulates activities of motor transportation brokers of fresh agricultural products. Passed 21-8.

ACA 4 (Lewis) — Proposed constitutional amendment giving reporters the right to refuse to disclose their sources of information. Failed 23-14 (27 votes required).

Assembly

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONS

AB 2704 (Levine) — Requires real estate brokers to tell prospective home buyers the current property tax rate on the home or the home's assessed value. Passed 41-22.

AB 2797 (Bates) — Allows individuals to make their own beer. Passed 60-11.

EDUCATION

AB 2364 (Greene) — Permits individuals convicted of narcotics offenses to obtain teaching credentials if they have been rehabilitated. Passed 46-24.

AB 2391 (Egeland) — Prohibits use of textbooks containing illustrations with identifiable brand names or trademarks. Failed 30-38.

EMPLOYMENT

AB 2216 (Chappie) — Grants state employees leaves of absence with pay to participate in Olympic Games competition. Passed 44-23.

AB 2744 (Berman) — Authorizes local agencies and employee organizations to negotiate agency-shop agreements. Passed 55-16.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-May. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes **N - No**
*** — Absent or not voting**

A ⅔ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 54 votes)

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (⅔ = 27 votes)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate (26D, 14R)	SB 1432 SB 1578 SB 1437 SB 1362 SB 1328 ACA 4		SB 1432 SB 1578 SB 1437 SB 1362 SB 1328 ACA 4		SB 1432 SB 1578 SB 1437 SB 1362 SB 1328 ACA 4		SB 1432 SB 1578 SB 1437 SB 1362 SB 1328 ACA 4
Alquist (D)	YNYYYN	Dills (D)	Y*YYYY	Marks (R)	YNYN*Y	Rodda (D)	YYYYYN
Ayala (D)	YYYY**	Dunlap (D)	Y*NY*Y	Mills (D)	YYYYYY	Russell (R)	*YYYNN
Behr (R)	YY*YYY	Foran (D)	YNNYYN	Nejedly (R)	YNYYNY	Sieroty (D)	YNYY*Y
Beverly (R)	YYYYYY	Garamendi (D)	NNYYNY	Nimmo (R)	YNY*YN	Smith (D)	YNNYYY
Briggs (R)	******	Garcia (D)	YN***Y	Petris (D)	YN*YYY	Song (D)	****YY
Campbell (R)	YYYYNN	Greene (D)	Y**YY*	Presley (D)	NYYY*Y	Stiern (D)	NN*YYY
Carpenter D. (R)	*NYYNN	Gregorio (D)	YN*YNY	Rains (D)	YNNY*Y	Stull (R)	YNYYYN
Carpenter P. (D)	NYYYYY	Holden (D)	Y**Y*Y	Richardson (R)	NNYYNY	Vuich (D)	NNYYYN
Cusanovich (R)	NYYYYN	Holmdahl (D)	Y*YYNN	Robbins (D)	***YYY	Wilson (D)	YNYYYN
Deukmejian (R)	***Y*Y	Johnson (R)	YY*YYN	Roberti (D)	YY*Y*Y	Zenovich (D)	Y*YYYN

ENVIRONMENT

SB 1015 (Russell) — Exempts proposed Sundesert nuclear plant from state nuclear-safety laws. Motion to withdraw bill from committee (which had defeated it) for vote on Assembly floor. Failed 18-48.

AB2311 (Kapiloff) — Allows tuna fishermen to take a limited amount of anchovies from Humboldt Bay for bait. Passed 42-29.

MISCELLANEOUS

SB 1244 (Zenovich) — Classifies county correctional officers as peace officers, giving them improved fringe benefits. Passed 56-10.

AB 2442 (Chacon) — Gives cities greater flexibility in setting speed limits in residential areas. Passed 45-29.

ACA 79 (Wornum) — Proposed constitutional amendment increasing the gasoline tax to provide more money for highway construction. Defeated 16-44.

SB 535 (Campbell) — Establishes procedures for adopted persons and their natural parents to make contact with one another. Passed 42-35

Assembly (57D, 23R)	AB 2704 AB 2797 AB 2364 AB 2391 AB 2216 AB 2744	SB 1015 AB 2311 SB 1244 AB 2442 ACA 79 SB 535		AB 2704 AB 2797 AB 2364 AB 2391 AB 2216 AB 2744	SB 1015 AB 2311 SB 1244 AB 2442 ACA 79 SB 535
Agnos (D)	YYYYNY	NYY*YY	Keysor (D)	*NY*Y*	NYYYNY
Alatorre (D)	Y*Y*YY	NYYNY*	Knox (D)	YYYNYY	NNYNY*
Antonovich (R)	*YN***	*YY*NN	Lancaster (R)	*NNN*N	*Y*Y*N
Arnett (R)	*Y**YN	Y*YY*N	Lanterman (R)	*NNNYN	YYYYYN
Bane (D)	YNYNN*	YY*NYN	Lehman (D)	YYYYYY	NYYN*Y
Bannai (R)	N*NNYN	YNNNNN	Levine (D)	YYYYYY	NYYNYY
Bates (D)	YYYYYY	NYYYNY	Lewis (R)	NYNNYY	YYYN*Y
Berman (D)	YYYYNY	NYYYYY	Lockyer (D)	YYYYNY	NNYNNY
Boatwright (D)	YYYNYY	NY*YNN	Maddy (R)	NY*NYY	**YN*Y
Brown (D)	YYYY*Y	NY*N*N	Mangers (D)	YYNNN*	YNYYNY
Calvo (D)	NYYYNY	NNYYYY	McAlister (D)	YNNNNY	*YNYNN
Chacon (D)	NYYYYY	NYYYNY	McCarthy (D)	Y***Y*	N****Y
Chappie (R)	Y**NYY	YN*NNN	McVittie (D)	*YYYYY	NYYNYY
Chel (D)	NYNNNY	*NNNNY	Mello (D)	Y*Y**Y	NYYY*Y
Chimbole (D)	YYYNNN	YNYNNN	Miller (D)	*YYYYY	NNYNYN
Cline (R)	YNNNYN	YNYNNY	Montoya (D)	*YYNN*	*Y**NN
Collier (R)	*NNYNN	YYYYNN	Mori (D)	YN*YYY	NNY**N
Cordova (D)	NYNNN*	YYNYNY	Nestande (R)	NYYNNY	*YYNNN
Craven (R)	N**NYN	NY*YNN	Papan (D)	YYYNYY	NYY*NN
Cullen (D)	YYN*N*	NNNNNN	Perino (D)	YYNYYY	**YYNN
Dannemeyer (R)	NYNNNN	YNYYNN	Priolo (R)	*Y*NNY	*YYNNN
Deddeh (D)	NNNNYY	NYYYNN	Robinson (D)	NYYYYY	*YNN*N
Dixon (D)	*YY**Y	N*YY*Y	Roos (D)	YYYNYY	NNYN*Y
Duffy (R)	NYNNYN	*NYYNN	Rosenthal (D)	YYYNNY	NNYN*N
Egeland (D)	*YYYNY	NYYNNY	Ryan (R)	YYYNYN	*YYYNY
Ellis (R)	NNNNYN	YYNYNN	Statham (R)	NYNNNN	YYYYNY
Fazio (D)	YYY**Y	NNYYYY	Stirling (R)	N*YYNN	YNYYNN
Fenton (D)	YYY**Y	NY*YNY	Suitt (D)	*YN**N	*YNYNN
Gage (D)	YY*YYY	NY*YYY	Thomas, V. (D)	YYYNYY	N*YY*N
Goggin (D)	Y*YYYY	NYYY*Y	Thomas, W. (R)	NYNYYY	YNYNNY
Greene (D)	Y*YNNY	NNYNNY	Thurman (D)	NYYNYY	NNYYNN
Gualco (D)	YYYY*Y	NYYYNN	Torres (D)	YYYY*Y	NYYY*Y
Hallett (R)	YYYNYN	YYYYNY	Tucker (D)	*Y*YYY	NN*YNY
Hart (D)	YYYY*Y	NYYYNY	Vasconcellos (D)	YYYY*Y	N*YNNY
Hayden (R)	NNNNYY	NNNYNN	Vicencia (D)	*YYN*Y	NY*YY*
Hughes (D)	*YYYYY	N*YY*Y	Waters, M. (D)	YYYYYY	NN*Y*Y
Imbrecht (R)	NYNYYY	YNYNNY	Waters, N. (D)	YYYNYY	NNYYNN
Ingalls (D)	NYNNYY	NNYYYN	Wornum (D)	YYYNYY	NNYNYY
Kapiloff (D)	*Y*YNY	NY*N*Y	Wray (D)	YYY*Y*	N*NY*Y
Keene (D)	YYYYYY	NNYYYY	Young (D)	NYNNNY	*YYYNY

Selected Government Reports

California Environmental Directory: A Guide to Organizations and Resources, Second Edition, by the Center for California Public Affairs, Claremont Colleges. 148 pp. Available from the Center, P.O. Box 30, Claremont, CA 91711. ($15.75 plus tax, prepaid)

Regulation v. Compensation in Land Use Control: A Recommended Accommodation, a Critique and an Interpretation; essays by John J. Costonis, Curtis J. Berger and Stanley Scott for the Institute of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley. 91 pp. Available from the Institute, 109 Moses Hall, U.C., Berkeley 94720. ($3.50 plus tax)

Citizens' Guide To Local Government Budgeting, by Larry McCarthy for the California Taxpayers' Association. 51 pp. Available from 921 11th St., Suite 800, Sacramento 95814, or 612 S. Flower St., Suite 309, Los Angeles 90017. ($2.50)

Governance of Federal Regulatory Agencies, by David M. Welborn, published by The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tenn. How they formulate public policy and exercise control. 179 pp. Available from the publisher. ($9.50, hard cover)

Righting the Liability Balance, by the California Citizens' Commission on Tort Reform. A thorough analysis of the tort system and its financial impact. 201 pp. Available at 1617 Pontius Ave., Suite 210, Los Angeles 90025.

Recommended Statewide Transportation Goals, Policies and Objectives, by the State Transportation Board. Eight principles in further development of the State Transportation Plan. 222 pp. Available from the Board, 1120 N St., Sacramento 95814.

Fiscal Impact of California's Year-Round School Programs, by the state Auditor General. 41 pp. Available at Suite 750, 925 L Street, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature.

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE	AB 2255 (McAlister)	Enacts a system of no-fault motor vehicle insurance.	*Assembly Ways and Means Committee referred to suspense file.*
BIRTH CERTIFICATES	AB 2152 (Brown)	Revises birth certificates to exclude certain racial, educational, occupational and medical data.	*Senate Judiciary Committee*
CHARITIES	AB 2058 (McAlister)	Enacts Charitable Registration and Solicitation Act requiring charitable organizations to make certain disclosures.	*Senate Governmental Organization Committee hearing June 13th.*
CHILD ABUSE	SB 1414 (Behr) SB 1614 (Rains) AB 3125 (Lockyer)	Revises child abuse reporting requirements, coordinates treatment and prevention services, centralizes maintenance of child abuse records.	*SB 1414 is in the Senate Finance Committee; SB 1614 is on the Senate floor; AB 3125 is in the Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
CORPORATIONS	AB 2180-2181 (Knox)	Enacts a new non-profit and non-stock corporation law.	*Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
COURT REFORM	SB 1362 (Smith) AB 539 (Maddy) AB 2763 (Fazio)	Part of the Governor's judicial reform program, these measures provide for the mandatory submission of certain civil actions to arbitration (SB 1362); a summary procedure for the dissolution of marriage (AB 539); the resolution of civil claims or criminal matters by neighborhood mediation centers (AB 2763).	*SB 1362 is in the Assembly Judiciary Committee; AB 539 is on the Senate floor; AB 2763 is in the Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
EMPLOYEES	AB 1295 (Bates)	Permits an employee to appeal an employer's overtime practices to the state Labor Commissioner.	*Defeated by Senate Industrial Relations Committee.*
	AB 1960 (Berman)	Prohibits employers from engaging in certain discriminatory practices against pregnant employees.	*Senate Industrial Relations Committee.*
	AB 2858 (Agnos) SB 2053 (Marks)	Both bills prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of an employee's refusal to grant sexual favors. SB 2053 prohibits employment discrimination based on a person's sexual orientation.	*AB 2858 is in the Assembly Ways and Means Committee. SB 2053 is in the Senate Finance Committee.*
HUMAN EXPERIMENTATION	AB 1752 AB 3202 (Rosenthal)	Both measures establish informed-consent procedures for the conduct of medical experiments.	*AB 1752 is on the Senate floor. AB 3202 is in the Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
LIQUOR LIABILITY	SB 1645 (Ayala) SB 1175 (Foran) SB 2206 (Song)	Exempts from civil liability for third-party injury persons who sell or furnish alcoholic beverages to intoxicated persons.	*SB 1645 is on the Senate floor. SB 1175 is in the Assembly Judiciary Committee. SB 2206 is in the Senate Judiciary Committee.*
MEDI-CAL FUNDING	AB 2967 (Brown)	Appropriates $70.6 million in augmentation of the 1977-78 Medi-Cal budget, including $25 million for abortions.	*Defeated on Assembly floor May 22nd. Reconsideration granted.*
NEWS REPORTERS	ACA 4 (Lewis)	Proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting a news reporter from being held in contempt of court for refusing to disclose the source of a news story.	*Defeated by Senate, 23-14. Reconsideration granted.*
PRODUCT LIABILITY	SB 1913-1914 (Dennis Carpenter)	Revise laws governing product liability actions against manufacturers.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
UNIFORMS	SB 1781 (Robbins) AB 3319 (Bane)	Prohibits persons from wearing military or police uniforms in public, especially those of Nazi storm troopers.	*SB 1781 is in the Senate Finance Committee. AB 3319 was defeated by the Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carter's dealer at Tahoe

By Leo Rennert

After suffering through a long political drought in the West, the White House is on the verge of scoring a breakthrough in the fight to preserve one of the region's scenic wonders — Lake Tahoe. Nestled in the high Sierra astride the California-Nevada border, the Tahoe basin has gone through a period of feverish development with an explosion of casinos, smog rising to Los Angeles levels and growing pollution threats to its clear lake water. For some time, California and Nevada had been pulling in different directions and were hardly talking to each other. Developers ran circles around the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency (TRPA) which the two states set up with great fanfare a decade ago as the supposed salvation of the mile-high lake.

TO CHARLES WARREN, chairman of President Carter's Council on Environmental Quality, all this had a depressingly familiar look. As a leading author of environmental bills when he served in the California Legislature, Warren had first-hand knowledge of Tahoe's problems. More importantly, he knew local governments generally turn out to be poor land-use custodians of potentially valuable scenic real estate — a lesson California learned in struggling to protect its coastline. Here too was a need for a new governmental structure for an area not only honeycombed with many different local jurisdictions but under the dominion of two states as well.

On paper, the solution was supposed to be TRPA with its 10-member governing board — five from California and five from Nevada. But in practice, TRPA proved unequal to the task. Critics all along suspected it was intended that way. Each state's contingent on the TRPA board had a 3-2 majority of local-government representatives over state-government officials. Moreover, under the TRPA voting system, a development plan could be rejected only if a majority on each side voted that way. This meant three "local" Nevada members could sanction new construction even though the other seven TRPA directors might be vehemently opposed to the idea.

While it became easy to tag TRPA a failure, getting California and Nevada to agree on a single solution was an infinitely more difficult task. Governor Brown's approach was to turn his back completely on TRPA, pull California out of the bi-state compact and toss the problem to Washington. Brown's resources secretary, Huey Johnson, asked Congress to declare Tahoe a National Recreation Area. Since the federal government already owns more than half the basin, he argued, it might as well become top dog there. The California solution, however, was anathema to Nevada, which has a phobia about federal intrusion stemming from its desire to keep Washington away from any control over gambling. Nevada Governor Mike O'Callaghan and his Legislature were willing to make some concessions to strengthen TRPA but were firm against bucking the problem to Washington.

This was the impasse that confronted the Carter Administration — California pushing in one direction and Nevada in the other. But it also offered an ideal opportunity for Warren to play the role of mediator from his vantage point as the President's top environmental adviser. With bipartisan support from the two congressional delegations, he flew to Nevada and California to forge a compromise. His shuttle diplomacy produced a set of proposals that finally brought top aides of Brown and O'Callaghan to the negotiating table in a Sacramento motel.

Warren's plan rules out any immediate Washington takeover. Instead, it relies on revamping TRPA to give state officials on each side effective control over Tahoe's future. Moreover, the "dual majority" voting requirement is reversed to tip the balance against development. Henceforth, a construction plan would require a majority on each side. For the first time, California could veto a project Nevada wanted — and vice versa.

Two last-minute hitches required some extra diplomatic finesse. When Nevadans found out that the new set-up might allow Brown to control development on their side of the lake, including casino expansion, the entire exercise almost collapsed. Brown is regarded with even more puzzlement in Nevada than in his own state, and Nevadans were not about to crown him "czar" of Tahoe. To make the package more palatable to Nevada, the California Legislature was given the task of deciding which California officeholders would serve on the TRPA board — an approach that is not likely to give Brown a monopoly. The other hitch concerned the most sensitive issue for Nevada — gambling. Nevada had agreed all along to slap a moratorium on new Tahoe casinos. But in exchange, it wanted to call the shots on expansion of existing ones. Warren had suggested that the new TRPA board be given this authority. But with California gaining more power on TRPA, Nevada balked. To remove this hurdle, it was agreed the Nevada Environmental Agency would rule on casino-expansion permits so long as it followed strict TRPA criteria against environmental degradation.

BY THE END OF MAY, the way had been cleared for a new two-state compact to govern Tahoe development. By forcing each side to put its cards on the table, Warren shattered some old myths — that California supposedly had a better environmental record at Tahoe or that Nevada was hell-bent for commercial exploitation. As it turned out, Nevada actually had come a long way in its willingness to clip its sovereignty to save Tahoe. "I assumed neither state wanted to see the lake destroyed, and continuation of the present situation would in fact destroy it," Warren remarked. "Both saw the need for change. Once we got going, it was just a case of reconciling relatively minor differences."

As someone who has lost some important environmental battles in the inner councils of the White House, particularly on nuclear power, Warren describes his Tahoe peacemaking mission as "one of the most pleasant experiences I've had in my present post." His efforts offer no ironclad guarantee that Tahoe will be saved. A new set of officials will take over and developers will have new targets for their lobbying. But the development game will not be so easy. Construction will continue — but at a reduced pace. That may not be enough to satisfy all-out environmentalists. But it's quite a bit more protection than Tahoe would have had without Warren's intervention.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The ideal gift book — artistic, entertaining and informative

This handsome, 156-page paperbound volume, eight inches by eight inches, contains 119 cartoons spanning California political history from the Gold Rush through the New Spirit and tells of little-remembered episodes in the state's history. Did you know, for example, that the Legislature of 1899 banned political cartooning?

Even those with little interest in politics will find this collection fascinating if they appreciate the might of the artist's pen. Among the cartoonists represented are Paul Conrad, Robert Graysmith, Lou Grant, Dennis Renault, Robert Bastian, Newton Pratt, Bruce Russell, Ted Gale, Homer Davenport, Edward Keller and Thomas Nast.

Every reader of the *Journal* will want a personal copy of this book — and perhaps several more for gift occasions.

Laugh your way through the chronicle of California with this colorful book from the *California Journal Press:*

THE CARTOON HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA POLITICS

By Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown

A bargain at $5.25 (including tax)

Also available from the *California Journal Press:*

The essential reference volume on California government and politics: **California Journal Almanac of State Government and Politics, 1977-1978 edition.** Price: $4.19, including tax.

The Whole Brown Catalog: **Jerry Brown: High Priest and Low Politician,** by Ed Salzman, with cartoons and photos. Price: $3.13, including tax.

An indictment of the industry that helped Brown hide the 1974 gubernatorial campaign: **Phantom Politics: Campaigning in California,** by Mary Ellen Leary, a 191-page paperback book describing media coverage of California politics. Price: $6.31, including tax.

A thoughtful analysis of contemporary problems in the press: **Reporting: An Inside View,** by Lou Cannon, a 320-page book by the *Journal's* long-time Washington columnist. Hardback, $10.55; softbound, $5.25, including tax.

The book that tells all about California sex laws without the slightest hint of titilation: **Sex Code of California,** prepared by Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California. Price: $5.25, including tax.

Postage and handling are free on prepaid, Visa or Master Charge orders. Send orders to the *California Journal Press,* 1617 10th St., Sacramento, 95814.

Young men have always been advised to go into the world to make their fame and fortune. But when you choose politics, forget about the fortune.

— Edmund G. Brown Sr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED